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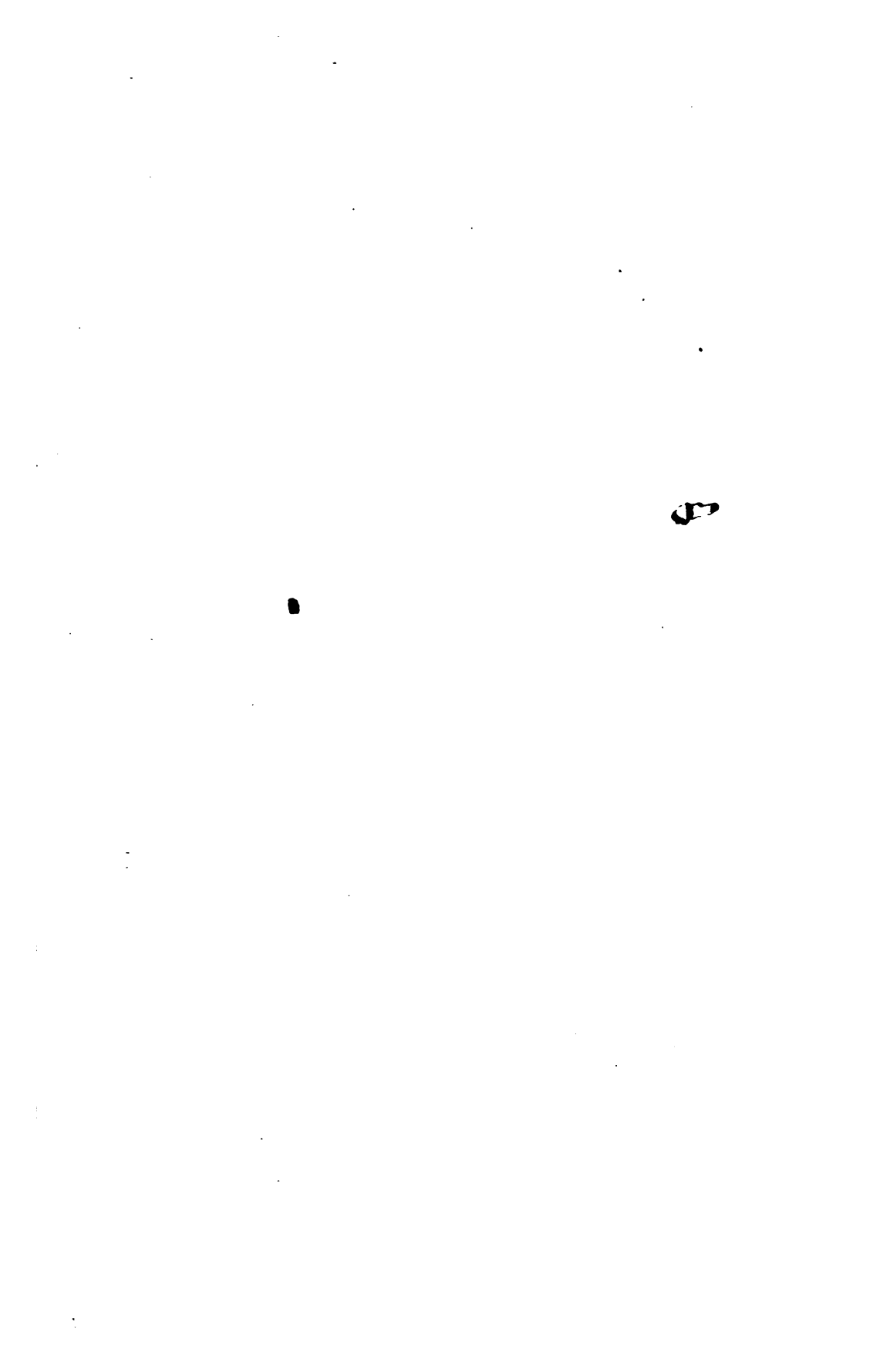
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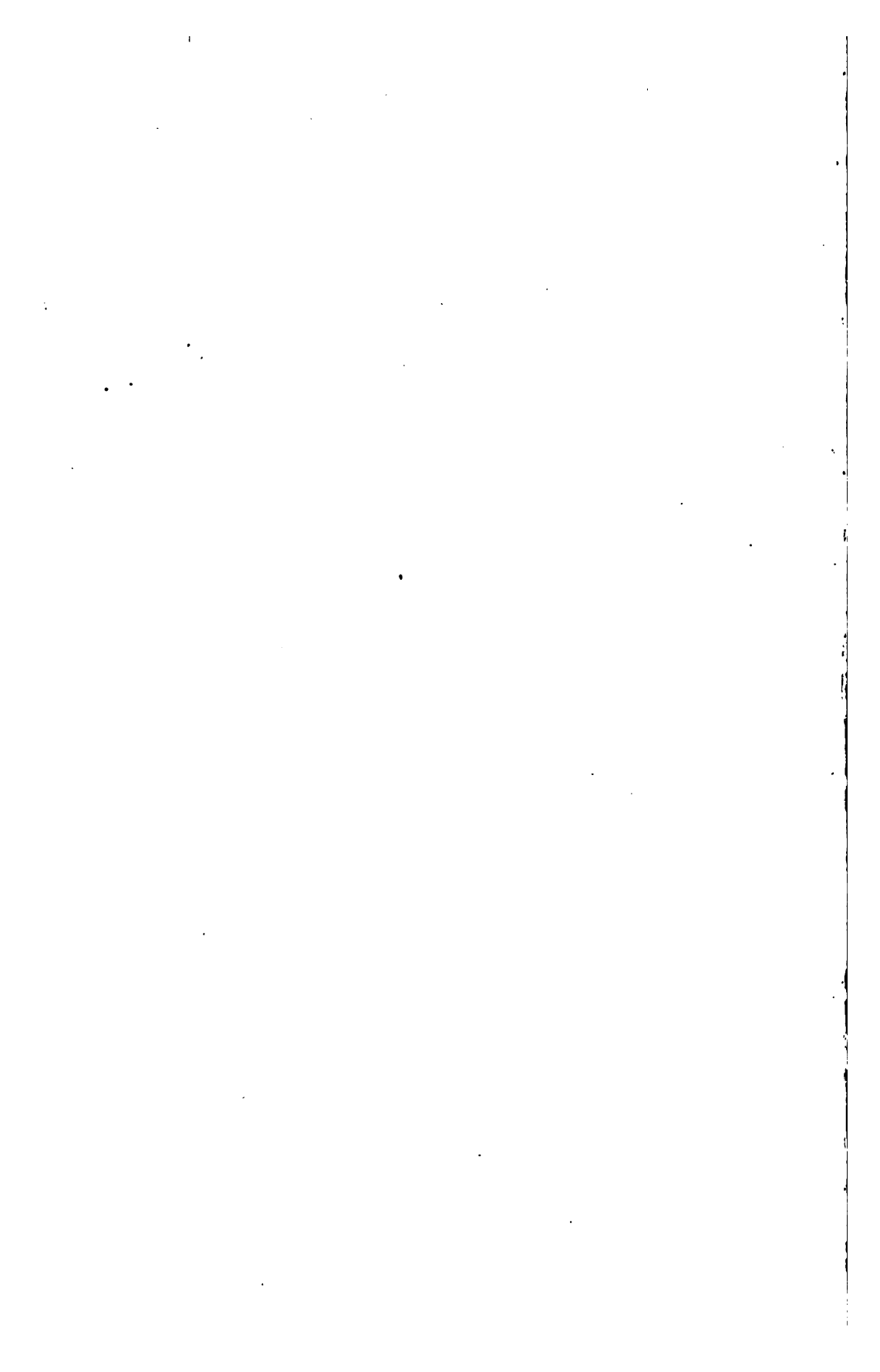


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INDEX

TO

*Emil* SCHÜRER'S HISTORY OF THE JEWISH  
PEOPLE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

Translated by

REV. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A.,

FINDHORN.



EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

1891.

1891, Sept. 10.  
Divinity School.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB,

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

LONDON, . . . . . HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO.

DUBLIN, . . . . . GEORGE HERBERT.

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Index

## PREFATORY NOTE.



IN accordance with the strongly expressed wish of Professor Schürer, his elaborate and carefully compiled Index has been faithfully reproduced in English for the benefit of students of his *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. The need of an Index for so extensive and thorough-going a treatise as that which has now been completed in five English volumes, will be apparent to all who are in any measure acquainted with the work. The English edition has been issued almost contemporaneously with the German, the last two volumes having been translated from proof-sheets forwarded by the author from time to time as the printing of the original advanced.

The figures used in the Index references indicate respectively the Division (I. II.), the volume in each Division (I. i. ii.; II. i. ii. iii.), and the page.

At the end of this volume are given the Additions and Corrections which Professor Schürer wishes to be made to Division II. Those supplied by the author for Division I. are given at the close of vol. ii. of that Division.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

FINDHORN, FORRES,  
20th December 1890.



## CONTENTS.

—o—

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| INDEX A.—SCRIPTURE PASSAGES, . . . . .             | 1    |
| INDEX B.—HEBREW WORDS, . . . . .                   | 8    |
| INDEX C.—GREEK WORDS, . . . . .                    | 12   |
| INDEX D.—NAMES AND SUBJECTS, . . . . .             | 17   |
| ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO DIVISION II., . . . . | 91   |



# A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

## INDEX.

### A.—SCRIPTURE PASSAGES.

#### GENESIS.

i., . . . . II. i. 342.  
vi., . . . . II. iii. 56.  
xxxvi. 33, . . II. iii. 208.  
xli. 45, . . . II. iii. 151.  
xlix. 27, . . . II. iii. 119, 123.

#### EXODUS.

xii. 2, . . . I. i. 37.  
xiii. 1, 2, . . II. i. 243.  
xiii. 9, 16, . . II. ii. 113.  
xiii. 11-16, . . II. i. 231, 243, ii.  
113.  
xx. 4, . . . II. i. 52.  
xxii. 28, 29, . II. i. 231, 243.  
xxii. 30, . . . II. iii. 313.  
xxiii. 16, . . I. i. 37.  
xxiii. 19, . . II. i. 231, 233.  
xxv. 23-30, . . II. i. 282.  
xxv. 31-40, . . II. i. 282.  
xxvii. 20, 21, . II. i. 281.  
xxviii., . . . II. i. 256.  
xxviii. 40-43, . II. i. 276.  
xxix., . . . II. i. 209.  
xxix. 38-42, . . II. i. 285.  
xxx. 1-10, . . . II. i. 281.  
xxx. 7, 8, . . . II. i. 281, 289.  
xxx. 11-16, . . II. i. 250.  
xxx. 17-21, . . II. i. 278.  
xxx. 34-38, . . II. i. 281.  
xxxiv. 19, 20, . II. i. 231, 243.  
xxxiv. 22, . . I. i. 37.  
xxxiv. 26, . . . II. i. 231, 238.  
xxxvii. 10-16, . II. i. 282.

xxxvii. 17-24, . II. i. 282.  
xxxvii. 25-29, . II. i. 281.  
xxxviii. 8, . . . II. i. 278.  
xxxix., . . . II. i. 256.  
xxxix. 27-29, . II. i. 276.  
xl. 30-32, . . . II. i. 278.

#### LEVITICUS.

i.-vii., . . . II. i. 235, 279.  
vi. 6, . . . II. i. 283.  
vi. 12-16, . . . II. i. 255, 287-289.  
vii. 8, . . . II. i. 236.  
vii. 30-34, . . II. i. 232, 234, 236.  
viii., . . . II. i. 209, 215.  
x. 6, 7, . . . II. i. 213.  
x. 8-11, . . . II. i. 278.  
xvi. 4, . . . II. i. 256.  
xix. 9, 10, . . I. i. 121; II. i. 241.  
xix. 19, . . . I. i. 121.  
xix. 23-25, . . I. i. 122; II. i. 241.  
xxi. 1-4, . . . II. i. 213.  
xxi. 5, 6, . . . II. i. 213.  
xxi. 7, 8, . . . II. i. 210.  
xxi. 10, . . . II. i. 214.  
xxi. 11, 12, . . II. i. 213.  
xxi. 13-15, . . II. i. 211.  
xxi. 16-23, . . II. i. 213.  
xxi. 22, . . . II. i. 250.  
xxii. 1-16, . . II. i. 249.  
xxii. 25, . . . II. i. 300.  
xxiii. 11-15, . II. ii. 37.  
xxiii. 22, . . . I. i. 121; II. i. 241.  
xxiii. 23, . . . I. i. 37.  
xxiv. 1-4, . . . II. i. 281.  
xxiv. 5-9, . . . II. i. 236, 282.

xxv. 29-31, . . II. i. 154.  
 xxvii., . . . II. i. 243, 246.  
 xxvii. 26, 27, . II. i. 242.  
 xxvii. 30-33, . II. i. 234, 240.

## NUMBERS.

iii. 44 ff., . . II. i. 241.  
 v. 5-8, . . . II. i. 246.  
 viii. 1-4, . . . II. i. 281.  
 xiv. 1-16, . . . II. i. 286.  
 xv. 17-21, . . I. i. 121; II. i. 233,  
 242.  
 xv. 37 ff., . . II. ii. 113.  
 xviii. 8-32, . . II. i. 232, 234 f.,  
 236, 240, 246.  
 xix. 16, . . . I. ii. 19.  
 xxi. 25, . . . II. i. 155.  
 xxiv. 17, . . . I. ii. 298.  
 xxviii. 3-8, . . II. i. 285 f.  
 xxviii. 9, 10, . II. i. 274, ii. 103.  
 xxix. 1-6, . . . I. i. 37.  
 xxxii. 42, . . . II. i. 108.

## DEUTERONOMY.

iv. 16, . . . II. i. 52.  
 vi. 4-9 (on an  
 inscription  
 at Palmyra,  
 published by  
 Landauer), . I. i. 31.  
 vi. 8, . . . II. ii. 113.  
 vi. 9, . . . II. ii. 113.  
 viii. 10, . . . II. ii. 117.  
 xi. 18, . . . II. ii. 113.  
 xi. 20, . . . II. ii. 113.  
 xiv. 21, . . . II. iii. 313.  
 xiv. 22-29, . . II. i. 232, 240, 241.  
 xv. 1-11, . . . II. i. 362.  
 xv. 19-23, . . II. i. 231, 243.  
 xviii. 3, 4, . . II. i. 232, 245.  
 xix. 12 f., . . . II. i. 150.  
 xxii. 6, 7, . . . II. iii. 313.  
 xxii. 9-11, . . I. i. 121.  
 xxii. 12, . . . II. ii. 113.  
 xxiii. 22-24, . . II. i. 246.  
 xxiv. 19-22, . . I. i. 121; II. i. 241.  
 xxv. 7-9, . . . II. i. 152.  
 xxvi. 1-4, . . . II. i. 232, 238.  
 xxvi. 12-15, . . II. i. 232, 242.  
 xxvii. 2 ff., . . II. i. 344.  
 xxix. 27, . . . II. ii. 170.  
 xxxiv., . . . II. i. 344.

## RUTH.

iv. 20 f., . . . II. i. 344.

## 1 KINGS.

v. 12, 13, . . . II. iii. 152.  
 xvii., . . . II. i. 344.

## 2 KINGS.

xvii. 6, . . . II. ii. 224.  
 xvii. 24 ff., . . II. i. 6.  
 xviii. 11, . . . II. ii. 224.

## 1 CHRONICLES.

ii. 11, . . . II. i. 344.  
 ii. 23, . . . II. i. 108.  
 vi. 16-32, . . . II. i. 271.  
 xxiii., . . . II. i. 225.  
 xxiv., . . . II. i. 219, 221.  
 xxv., . . . II. i. 228, 271.

## 2 CHRONICLES.

xiii. 11, . . . II. i. 281, 285.  
 xiii. 22, . . . II. i. 341.  
 xxiv. 27, . . . II. i. 341.  
 xxvi. 6, . . . II. i. 78.  
 xxxi. 11-19, . . II. i. 264.

## EZRA.

iv. 1, . . . . II. i. 7.  
 iv. 8-vi. 18, . . II. i. 9.  
 vii. 12-26, . . . II. i. 9.  
 viii. 2, . . . . II. i. 218.  
 x. 18-22, . . . . II. i. 218.

## NEHEMIAH.

iv. 1, . . . . II. i. 7.  
 viii.-x., . . . . II. i. 306, 355.  
 x. 3-9, . . . . II. i. 218.  
 x. 33, 34, . . . . II. i. 250.  
 x. 34, . . . . II. i. 252.  
 x. 36-40, . . . . II. i. 234, 238, 240,  
 243.  
 xi.-xii., . . . . II. i. 226.  
 xii. 1-7, . . . . II. i. 218.  
 xii. 12-21, . . . II. i. 218.  
 xiii. 28, . . . . II. i. 7.  
 xiii. 31, . . . . II. i. 252.

**APOCRYPHA.**

xxiv., . . . . II. i. 291.  
xxx., . . . . I. i. 218; II. i. 238.  
xliv., . . . . II. iii. 15.  
xlviii., . . . . II. i. 291.  
lxxiv., . . . . II. iii. 15.  
lxxiv. 8., . . . II. ii. 54, iii. 15.  
lxxx., . . . . II. iii. 15.  
lxxxi., . . . . II. i. 291.  
lxxxii., . . . . II. i. 291.  
lxxxiii., . . . . II. i. 291.  
xcii., . . . . II. i. 291.  
xciii., . . . . II. i. 291.  
xciv., . . . . II. i. 291.  
cxiii.-cxviii., . . II. i. 291.

ISAIAH.

liii., . . . . II. ii. 185.  
lxvi. 1, . . . . II. iii. 298.

**JEREMIAH.**

xvii. 21-24, . . . . II. ii. 97.  
xxix. 7, . . . . II. i. 304.  
xliv. 1, . . . . II. ii. 227.

**EZEKIEL.**

i., . . . . . II. i. 347.  
viii. 16, . . . . II. ii. 213.  
xliiii. 13-17, . . II. i. 282.  
xliv. 6-16, . . . . II. i. 224.  
xliv. 17-19, . . . II. i. 250, 276.  
xliv. 21, . . . . II. i. 278.  
xlv. 22, . . . . II. i. 212.  
xlv. 25-27, . . . II. i. 213.  
xlv. 28-30, . . . II. i. 232, 335, 242,  
246.

DANIEL.

ii. 4-7, . . . II. i. 9.  
iii., 5, 10, 15, . II. i. 36.

## MALACHI

iv. 5, 6, . . . II. ii. 156.

BARUCH.

|            |       |               |
|------------|-------|---------------|
| i. 10, 11, | . . . | II. i. 304.   |
| iii. 35,   | . . . | II. iii. 193. |
| xliv. 15,  | . . . | II. ii. 183.  |
| li. 1-6,   | . . . | II. ii. 183.  |

**ТОВИТ.**

i. 7, . . . . II. i. 240.  
i. 7, 8, . . . . II. i. 241.

**1 MACCABEES.**

|              |       |                        |
|--------------|-------|------------------------|
| i. 14, 15,   | . . . | II. i. 32.             |
| i. 21,       | . . . | II. i. 260, 282.       |
| ii. 1,       | . . . | II. i. 219, 229.       |
| ii. 34-42,   | . . . | II. ii. 105.           |
| ii. 42,      | . . . | I. i. 211; II. ii. 26. |
| iv. 44-47,   | . . . | II. i. 283.            |
| iv. 49,      | . . . | II. i. 282.            |
| v. 37,       | . . . | II. i. 106.            |
| v. 52,       | . . . | II. i. 110.            |
| v. 63,       | . . . | II. i. 77.             |
| vii. 12 ff., | . . . | I. i. 211; II. ii. 26. |
| viii. 17,    | . . . | II. iii. 204.          |
| x. 56-60,    | . . . | II. i. 93.             |
| x. 69,       | . . . | II. i. 79.             |
| x. 84,       | . . . | II. i. 14, 77.         |
| x. 86,       | . . . | II. i. 75.             |
| xi. 60,      | . . . | II. i. 75.             |
| xv. 35,      | . . . | II. i. 81.             |
| xvi. 23, 24, | . . . | II. iii. 13.           |

## 2 MACCABEES.

|                   |               |
|-------------------|---------------|
| iii. 10, . . .    | ii. i. 261.   |
| iv. 9, . . .      | ii. i. 93.    |
| iv. 18-20, . . .  | ii. i. 24.    |
| vi. 7, . . .      | ii. i. 24.    |
| vii. 28, . . .    | ii. iii. 214. |
| xii. 8, 40, . . . | ii. i. 78.    |
| xii. 3, 7, . . .  | ii. i. 81.    |
| xii. 29-31, . . . | ii. i. 111.   |
| xv. 14, . . .     | ii. iii. 214. |

**ECCLESIASTICUS.**

|               |         |              |
|---------------|---------|--------------|
| xliv. 6-13,   | . . .   | II. i. 256.  |
| xlvi. 10, 11, | . . .   | II. ii. 156. |
| l. 3,         | . . . . | II. i. 278.  |
| l. 5 ff.,     | . . . . | II. i. 256.  |

- i. 11-21, . . . II. i. 292.  
 i. 25-26, . . . II. i. 7.

## WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

- ii. 12-20, . . . II. ii. 139, iii. 231,  
 232.  
 vii. 25, 26, . . . II. iii. 232.  
 xvi. 28, . . . II. ii. 214.  
 xviii. 15 f., . . . II. iii. 376.  
 xxxv. 24-xxxix.  
 11, . . . II. i. 318.

## MATTHEW.

- i. 1 ff., . . . See Genealogical  
 Table in Index D.  
 i. 5, . . . II. i. 344.  
 ii. 5, . . . II. ii. 159.  
 ii. 22, . . . I. ii. 39.  
 iii. 2, . . . II. ii. 171.  
 iii. 12, . . . II. ii. 183.  
 iv. 25, . . . II. i. 94.  
 v. 21, 22, . . . II. i. 154.  
 v. 22, . . . II. i. 9, 151, 171,  
 ii. 183.  
 v. 26, . . . II. i. 40.  
 vi. 5, . . . II. ii. 116-118.  
 vi. 16-18, . . . II. ii. 118.  
 vi. 17, . . . II. ii. 212.  
 vi. 24, . . . II. i. 9.  
 viii. 11, . . . II. ii. 174.  
 viii. 28, . . . II. i. 104.  
 ix. 9, . . . II. ii. 68.  
 ix. 9-13, . . . II. ii. 25.  
 ix. 14, . . . II. ii. 118.  
 ix. 20, . . . II. ii. 112.  
 x. 3, . . . See Bartholomew  
 in Index D.  
 x. 4, . . . I. ii. 80.  
 x. 8, 10, . . . II. i. 318.  
 x. 17, . . . II. i. 151, 169.  
 x. 29, . . . II. i. 39.  
 x. 35, 36, . . . II. ii. 156.  
 xi. 14, . . . II. ii. 156.  
 xi. 21, . . . See Chorazin in  
 Index D.  
 xii. 1, 2, . . . II. ii. 98.  
 xii. 4, . . . II. i. 236.  
 xii. 5, . . . II. ii. 103.  
 xii. 9-13, . . . II. ii. 104.  
 xii. 32, . . . II. ii. 177.  
 xiv. 3, . . . I. ii. 25.  
 xiv. 3-11, . . . I. ii. 26-28.

- xiv. 19, . . . II. ii. 117.  
 xiv. 36, . . . II. ii. 112.  
 xv. 2, . . . II. ii. 11, 106-111,  
 210.  
 xv. 5, . . . II. i. 246; II. 123.  
 xv. 5 f., . . . II. ii. 118.  
 xv. 36, . . . II. ii. 117.  
 xvi. 13, . . . II. i. 134.  
 xvi. 13-16, . . . II. iii. 69.  
 xvi. 14, . . . II. ii. 156.  
 xvi. 22, . . . II. ii. 187.  
 xvi. 23, . . . II. i. 9.  
 xvii. 10, . . . II. ii. 156.  
 xvii. 24, . . . II. i. 250.  
 xvii. 24-27, . . . II. i. 41.  
 xviii. 28, . . . II. i. 39.  
 xix. 3, . . . II. ii. 123.  
 xix. 28, . . . II. ii. 123.  
 xx. 20, . . . II. i. 50.  
 xxii. 15-17, . . . II. i. 56.  
 xxii. 17, . . . I. ii. 123.  
 xxii. 17 ff., . . . I. ii. 65; II. ii. 18.  
 xxii. 20, . . . I. ii. 77.  
 xxii. 20 f., . . . II. i. 53.  
 xxii. 23, . . . II. ii. 13, 31.  
 xxii. 42, . . . II. ii. 159.  
 xxiii. 5, . . . II. ii. 112-115.  
 xxiii. 6, . . . II. ii. 75.  
 xxiii. 6, 7, . . . II. i. 317.  
 xxiii. 7, . . . II. i. 315.  
 xxiii. 9, 10, . . . II. i. 317.  
 xxiii. 15, . . . II. ii. 304.  
 xxiii. 16, 18, . . . II. ii. 122.  
 xxiii. 23, . . . II. i. 230.  
 xxiii. 25, 26, . . . II. ii. 106-111.  
 xxiii. 35, . . . I. ii. 230.  
 xxiv. 7 ff., . . . II. ii. 156.  
 xxiv. 8, . . . II. ii. 155.  
 xxv. 46, . . . II. ii. 183.  
 xxvi. 3, . . . II. i. 182.  
 xxvi. 17, . . . II. i. 9.  
 xxvi. 26, . . . II. ii. 117.  
 xxvi. 47, . . . II. i. 187.  
 xxvi. 57 ff., . . . II. i. 183, 193.  
 xxvi. 73, . . . II. i. 10.  
 xxvii. 6, . . . II. i. 9, 261.  
 xxvii. 19, . . . I. ii. 15.  
 xxvii. 27, . . . I. ii. 48.  
 xxvii. 32, . . . II. ii. 231.  
 xxvii. 33, . . . II. i. 9.

## MARK.

- i. 38, . . . II. i. 154.



|                        |                              |   |                                      |
|------------------------|------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| ii. 14, . . . . .      | i. ii. 68.                   | i. 9, 10, . . . . .                                     | ii. i. 204; comp.<br>285, 290.       |
| ii. 14-17, . . . . .   | ii. ii. 25.                  | i. 10, . . . . .  | ii. i. 290.                          |
| ii. 18, . . . . .      | ii. ii. 118.                 | i. 36, . . . . .  | ii. iii. 120.                        |
| ii. 23, 24, . . . . .  | ii. ii. 98.                  | i. 39, . . . . .  | ii. i. 229.                          |
| ii. 26, . . . . .      | ii. i. 236.                  | i. 74, 75, . . . . .                                    | ii. ii. 174.                         |
| iii. 1-5, . . . . .    | ii. ii. 104.                 | i. 80, . . . . .  | i. ii. 134.                          |
| iii. 18, . . . . .     | i. ii. 80.                   | ii. 1-5, . . . . .                                      | i. ii. 105-143.                      |
| v. 20, . . . . .       | ii. i. 94.                   | ii. 22 f., . . . . .                                    | ii. i. 244.                          |
| v. 41, . . . . .       | ii. i. 9.                    | ii. 24, . . . . .                                       | ii. i. 235.                          |
| vi. 14, . . . . .      | i. ii. 17.                   | ii. 32, . . . . .                                       | ii. i. 174.                          |
| vi. 15, . . . . .      | ii. ii. 156.                 | ii. 42, . . . . .                                       | ii. ii. 52.                          |
| vi. 17, . . . . .      | i. ii. 22.                   | ii. 46, . . . . .                                       | ii. i. 325.                          |
| vi. 17 ff., . . . . .  | i. ii. 17-19.                | iii. 1 (Iturea<br>and Abilene), . . . . .               | i. ii. 10, 12, 335,<br>338.          |
| vi. 27, . . . . .      | i. ii. 62.                   | iii. 1 (date of<br>Baptist's ap-<br>pearing), . . . . . | i. ii. 31.                           |
| vi. 37, . . . . .      | ii. i. 39.                   | iii. 2, . . . . .                                       | ii. i. 182.                          |
| vi. 56, . . . . .      | ii. ii. 112.                 | iii. 17, . . . . .                                      | ii. ii. 183.                         |
| vii. 2-5, . . . . .    | ii. ii. 106-111.             | iii. 19, . . . . .                                      | i. ii. 17, 22.                       |
| vii. 3, . . . . .      | ii. ii. 11.                  | iii. 19 ff., . . . . .                                  | i. ii. 25. †                         |
| vii. 3, 4, . . . . .   | ii. ii. 210.                 | iii. 23 ff., . . . . .                                  | See Genealogical<br>Tab. in Index D. |
| vii. 6, . . . . .      | ii. ii. 118.                 | iv. 16 f., . . . . .                                    | ii. ii. 79, 81.                      |
| vii. 11, . . . . .     | ii. i. 246.                  | iv. 20 ff., . . . . .                                   | ii. ii. 66, 82.                      |
| vii. 11, 12, . . . . . | ii. ii. 123.                 | iv. 19-21, . . . . .                                    | i. i. 31.                            |
| vii. 31, . . . . .     | ii. i. 94.                   | iv. 25, . . . . .                                       | ii. i. 345.                          |
| vii. 34, . . . . .     | ii. i. 9.                    | v. 27, . . . . .  | i. ii. 68.                           |
| viii. 27, . . . . .    | ii. i. 134, 135.             | v. 27-32, . . . . .                                     | ii. ii. 25.                          |
| viii. 28, . . . . .    | ii. ii. 156.                 | v. 33, . . . . .  | ii. ii. 118.                         |
| ix. 11, . . . . .      | ii. ii. 156.                 | vi. 1, 2, . . . . .                                     | ii. ii. 98.                          |
| ix. 43, . . . . .      | ii. ii. 183.                 | vi. 4, . . . . .  | ii. i. 236.                          |
| x. 30, . . . . .       | ii. ii. 177.                 | vi. 6-10, . . . . .                                     | ii. ii. 104.                         |
| x. 51, . . . . .       | ii. i. 316.                  | vi. 15, . . . . .                                       | i. ii. 80.                           |
| xii. 13-17, . . . . .  | ii. i. 56.                   | vi. 22, . . . . .                                       | ii. ii. 60.                          |
| xii. 14, . . . . .     | i. ii. 124.                  | vii. 3, . . . . .                                       | ii. i. 151.                          |
| xii. 14 ff., . . . . . | i. ii. 65; ii. ii. 18.       | vii. 41, . . . . .                                      | ii. i. 39.                           |
| xii. 16, . . . . .     | i. ii. 77; ii. i. 50.        | viii. 44, . . . . .                                     | ii. ii. 112.                         |
| xii. 18, . . . . .     | ii. ii. 13.                  | ix. 8, 19, . . . . .                                    | ii. ii. 156.                         |
| xii. 35, . . . . .     | ii. ii. 159.                 | ix. 9, . . . . .  | i. i. 28.                            |
| xii. 38, 39, . . . . . | ii. i. 317, 319.             | ix. 52, 53, . . . . .                                   | ii. 1, 7.                            |
| xii. 39, . . . . .     | ii. ii. 75.                  | x. 7, . . . . .   | ii. i. 318.                          |
| xii. 40, . . . . .     | ii. ii. 118.                 | x. 13, . . . . .  | See Chorazin in<br>Index D.          |
| xii. 41-44, . . . . .  | ii. i. 253, 261.             | x. 20, . . . . .  | ii. ii. 182.                         |
| xii. 42, . . . . .     | ii. i. 40.                   | x. 29, . . . . .  | ii. ii. 24.                          |
| xiii. 9, . . . . .     | ii. i. 151, 169, ii.<br>155. | x. 34, . . . . .  | ii. i. 34.                           |
| xiii. 19, . . . . .    | ii. ii. 156.                 | xi. 38, 39, . . . . .                                   | ii. ii. 106-111.                     |
| xiv. 36, . . . . .     | ii. i. 9.                    | xi. 42, . . . . .                                       | ii. i. 239.                          |
| xiv. 43, . . . . .     | ii. i. 177, 187.             | xi. 43, . . . . .                                       | ii. i. 317; ii. 75.                  |
| xiv. 53 ff., . . . . . | ii. i. 187, 193.             | xi. 51, . . . . .                                       | i. ii. 230.                          |
| xv. 7, . . . . .       | i. ii. 85.                   | xii. 5, . . . . .                                       | ii. ii. 183.                         |
| xv. 16, . . . . .      | i. ii. 48.                   |   |                                      |
| xv. 21, . . . . .      | ii. ii. 231.                 |   |                                      |
| xv. 24, . . . . .      | ii. i. 10.                   |   |                                      |

## LUKE.

i. 5, . . . . . ii. i. 216, 219, 274.

xii. 6, . . . II. i. 39.  
 xii. 53, . . . II. ii. 156.  
 xii. 59, . . . II. i. 40.  
 xiii. 1, . . . I. ii. 85.  
 xiii. 10-17, . . II. ii. 104.  
 xiii. 14, . . . II. ii. 65.  
 xiii. 29, . . . II. ii. 174.  
 xiii. 31, 32, . . I. ii. 29.  
 xiii. 32, . . . I. ii. 18.  
 xiv. 1-6, . . . II. ii. 104.  
 xvi. 20, . . . See Lazarus in  
                   Index D.  
 xvi. 22 ff., . . II. ii. 180.  
 xviii. 12, . . . II. ii. 119.  
 xviii. 30, . . . II. ii. 177.  
 xviii. 34, . . . II. ii. 187.  
 xix. 12, . . . I. ii. 6.  
 xix. 20, . . . II. i. 44.  
 xix. 43, . . . I. ii. 241.  
 xx. 20-26, . . . II. i. 56.  
 xx. 22, . . . I. ii. 124.  
 xx. 22 ff., . . . I. ii. 65; II. ii. 18.  
 xx. 24, . . . I. ii. 77; II. i. 50.  
 xx. 27, . . . II. ii. 13.  
 xx. 41, . . . II. ii. 159.  
 xx. 46, . . . II. i. 317, ii. 75.  
 xx. 47, . . . II. i. 319, ii. 118.  
 xxi. 1, . . . II. i. 261.  
 xxi. 2, . . . II. i. 40.  
 xxi. 1-4, . . . II. i. 253.  
 xxi. 23, . . . II. ii. 156.  
 xxii. 4, . . . II. i. 259.  
 xxii. 52, . . . II. i. 259.  
 xxii. 66, . . . II. i. 172.  
 xxiii. 7-12, . . I. ii. 30.  
 xxiii. 26, . . . II. ii. 231.  
 xxiii. 43, . . . II. ii. 180, 182.  
 xxiv. 13, . . . II. i. 159.  
 xxiv. 21, . . . II. ii. 187.

## JOHN.

i. 21, . . . II. ii. 156, 157.  
 i. 41, . . . II. i. 9.  
 ii. 20, . . . I. i. 410; II. 30.  
 iv. 20, . . . II. i. 7.  
 v. 1-16, . . . II. ii. 104.  
 vi. 7, . . . II. i. 39.  
 vii. 22, 23, . . II. ii. 104.  
 vii. 27, . . . II. ii. 164.  
 vii. 41, 42, . . II. ii. 159.  
 vii. 49 (Am-  
       haarez), . . II. ii. 22 f.  
 viii. 20, . . . II. i. 261.

ix. 14-16, . . . II. ii. 104.  
 ix. 22, . . . II. ii. 60.  
 x. 22, . . . I. i. 217.  
 xi. 1, . . . See Lazarus in  
                   Index D.  
 xi. 44, . . . II. i. 44.  
 xi. 54, . . . I. i. 246, ii. 137.  
 xii. 6, . . . II. i. 46.  
 xii. 20 ff., . . II. i. 49.  
 xii. 34, . . . II. ii. 175, 187,  
                   iii. 69.  
 xii. 42, . . . II. ii. 60.  
 xiii. 29, . . . II. i. 46.  
 xv. 8, . . . II. i. 39.  
 xvi. 2, . . . II. ii. 60.  
 xviii. 3, . . . II. i. 188.  
 xviii. 21, . . . II. i. 188.  
 xviii. 28, . . . I. i. 248, ii. 54.  
 xviii. 31, . . . II. i. 187 f.  
 xviii. 33, . . . I. ii. 48.  
 xix. 9, . . . I. ii. 48.  
 xix. 13, . . . I. ii. 15; II. i. 9.  
 xix. 20, . . . II. i. 51.  
 xx. 7, . . . II. i. 44.  
 xx. 16, . . . II. i. 316.

## ACTS OF APOSTLES.

i. 12, . . . II. ii. 102.  
 i. 13, . . . I. ii. 80.  
 i. 19, . . . II. i. 9, iii. 25.  
 ii. 9-11, . . . II. ii. 223, 291.  
 ii. 10, . . . II. ii. 231.  
 ii. 15, . . . II. i. 290.  
 ii. 29, . . . I. i. 276.  
 iii. 1, . . . II. i. 290.  
 iii. 2, . . . II. i. 35, 280.  
 iv. 1, . . . II. i. 258.  
 iv. 5, 8, . . . II. i. 177.  
 iv. 6, . . . II. i. 182, 198, 199.  
 iv. 23, . . . II. i. 177.  
 v. 17, . . . II. i. 178, 182.  
 v. 21, . . . II. i. 172.  
 v. 24, 26, . . . II. i. 258.  
 v. 34, . . . II. i. 182, ii. 11.  
 v. 34-39, . . . II. i. 364.  
 v. 36, . . . I. ii. 169.  
 v. 37, . . . I. ii. 80, 131, 143.  
 vi. 6, . . . II. i. 177.  
 vi. 9, . . . II. i. 49, ii. 57, 73,  
                   231, 276.  
 vii. 22, . . . II. i. 344.  
 vii. 53, . . . II. i. 344.  
 vii. 57 f., . . . II. i. 189.

vii. 59, . . . II. ii. 185.  
viii. 26, . . . II. i. 71.  
ix. 2, . . . II. i. 98, 185, ii. 262.  
ix. 20, . . . II. i. 49.  
x. 1, . . . I. ii. 5.  
x. 2, 22, . . . II. ii. 314.  
x. 3 ff., . . . II. i. 290.  
x. 28, . . . II. i. 54.  
xi. 3, . . . II. i. 55.  
xi. 20, . . . II. ii. 231.  
xi. 28-30, . . . I. ii. 142, 169.  
xii. 1-19, . . . I. ii. 160.  
xii. 19-23, . . . I. ii. 163, 164.  
xiii. 1, . . . II. ii. 231.  
xiii. 15, . . . II. ii. 63-65, 81.  
xiii. 16, 26, . . . II. ii. 308, 314.  
xiii. 43, 50, . . . II. ii. 308, 314.  
xv. 21, . . . II. ii. 55, 73.  
xv. 29, . . . II. iii. 316.  
xvi. 13 ff., . . . II. ii. 69-73.  
xvi. 14, . . . II. ii. 314.  
xvi. 37 ff., . . . II. ii. 278, 279.  
xvii. 1, . . . II. ii. 72.  
xvii. 4, 17, . . . II. ii. 308, 314.  
xvii. 28, . . . II. iii. 295.  
xviii. 2, . . . II. ii. 236, 237.  
xviii. 3, . . . II. i. 44, 318.  
xviii. 7, . . . II. ii. 314.  
xviii. 8 ff., . . . II. ii. 63.  
xviii. 12-17, . . . II. ii. 262, 263.  
xix. 12, . . . II. i. 44.  
xxi. 28, . . . II. i. 266.  
xxi. 28, 29, . . . I. ii. 74.  
xxi. 31 ff., . . . I. ii. 55.  
xxi. 38, . . . I. ii. 180.  
xxi. 39, . . . II. ii. 271.  
xxi. 40, . . . II. i. 48.  
xxii. 2, . . . II. i. 48.  
xxii. 3, . . . II. i. 236, ii. 11.  
xxii. 5, . . . II. i. 185.  
xxii. 19, . . . II. ii. 262.  
xxii. 25-29, . . . II. ii. 278, 279.  
xxiii. 6, . . . II. i. 179.  
xxiii. 8, . . . II. ii. 13.  
xxiii. 10, 15-22, . . . II. ii. 55.  
xxiii. 27, . . . II. ii. 276.  
xxiii. 31, . . . II. i. 131.  
xxiii. 35, . . . I. ii. 48.  
xxiv. 6, . . . I. ii. 74.  
xxiv. 12, . . . II. ii. 73.  
xxiv. 24, . . . I. ii. 177, 181.  
xxv. 6, . . . I. ii. 15.  
xxv. 10 ff., . . . I. ii. 59; II. ii. 279.

xxv. 12, . . . I. ii. 60.  
xxv. 13, 23, . . . I. ii. 196.  
xxv. 21, . . . I. ii. 59; II. ii. 279.  
xxv. 23, . . . II. i. 86.  
xxvi. 11, . . . II. ii. 262.  
xxvi. 12, . . . II. i. 185.  
xxvi. 28, . . . I. ii. 198.  
xxvi. 32, . . . I. ii. 59; II. ii. 279.  
xxvii. 1, . . . I. ii. 53.  
xxvii. 9, . . . I. i. 322.  
xxviii. 13, 14, . . . II. ii. 241. See also Puteoli in Index D.

## EPISTLES.

## ROMANS.

iv. 13, . . . II. ii. 173.  
x. 2, . . . II. ii. 96.  
xi. 16, . . . II. i. 242.  
xiv. 6, . . . II. ii. 117.

## 1 CORINTHIANS.

ii. 9, . . . II. iii. 130, 145.  
v. 2 ff., . . . II. ii. 61.  
vi. 2 f., . . . II. ii. 139.  
vii. 18, . . . I. i. 203.  
vii. 26, . . . II. ii. 156.  
ix. 3-18, . . . II. i. 138.  
x. 4, . . . II. i. 344.  
x. 30, . . . II. ii. 117.  
xi. 4, . . . II. ii. 78.  
xiv. 16, . . . II. ii. 78.  
xv. 52, . . . II. ii. 181.  
xvi. 22, . . . II. i. 9.

## 2 CORINTHIANS.

v. 8, . . . II. ii. 180.  
xi. 8, 9, . . . II. i. 318.  
xi. 24, . . . II. ii. 262.  
xi. 32, . . . I. ii. 347, 354, 357; II. i. 98.  
xii. 4, . . . II. ii. 66, 183.

## GALATIANS.

ii. 12, . . . II. i. 55.  
iii. 19, . . . II. i. 344.  
iv. 26, . . . II. ii. 168.  
v. 3, . . . II. ii. 324.  
vi. 6, . . . II. i. 319.  
vi. 15, . . . II. iii. 81.

## EPHESIANS.

i. 21, . . . . II. ii. 177.  
v. 14, . . . . II. iii. 130.

## PHILIPPIANS.

i. 23, . . . . II. ii. 180.  
iv. 3, . . . . II. ii. 182.  
iv. 10-18, . . . II. i. 319.  
iv. 22, . . . . II. ii. 248.

## 1 THESSALONIANS.

ii. 9, . . . . II. i. 318.  
iv. 16, . . . . II. ii. 181.

## 2 THESSALONIANS.

ii., . . . . II. ii. 165.  
iii. 8, . . . . II. i. 318.

## 1 TIMOTHY.

ii. 1, 2, . . . . II. i. 304.  
iv. 4, . . . . II. ii. 117.

## 2 TIMOTHY.

iii. 1, . . . . II. ii. 156.  
iii. 8, . . . . II. i. 344, iii. 150.  
iii. 15, . . . . II. ii. 48.  
iv. 13, . . . . II. ii. 75.

## HEBREWS.

ii. 2, . . . . II. i. 344.  
vii. 27, . . . . II. i. 288.  
xi. 5, . . . . II. iii. 70.  
xi. 35, . . . . II. iii. 214.  
xi. 37, . . . . II. i. 344, iii. 144.  
xii. 22, . . . . II. ii. 168.

## JAMES.

(Makes use of  
Jesus Sirach) II. iii. 28.  
iii. 6, . . . . II. ii. 183.  
v. 17, . . . . II. i. 345.

## 2 PETER.

iii. 13, . . . . II. ii. 177.

## JUDE.

9, . . . . . II. i. 344, iii. 72,  
78.  
14, . . . . . II. iii. 70.

## APOCALYPSE.

Whether the  
author used  
the translation  
of Theodotion, II. iii. 144 f.  
ii-iii, . . . . On the cities named  
in these chap-  
ters as resi-  
dences of Jews,  
see Index D.

ii. 7, . . . . II. ii. 183.  
iii. 5, . . . . II. ii. 182.  
iii. 12, . . . . II. ii. 168.  
vi. 6, . . . . II. i. 39.  
vi. 9 ff., . . . II. ii. 180.  
vii. 9 ff., . . . II. ii. 180.  
xi. 3, . . . . II. ii. 158.  
xiii., . . . . II. ii. 165.  
xiii. 8, . . . . II. ii. 182.  
xiv. 20, . . . . I. ii. 311.  
xx. 4-6, . . . . II. ii. 176.  
xx. 8, 9, . . . . II. ii. 165.  
xx. 15, . . . . II. ii. 182.  
xxi. 1, . . . . II. ii. 177.  
xxi. 2, 10, . . . II. ii. 169.

## B.—HEBREW WORDS.

## א

אב, month, . . . I. ii. 363.  
אב, בית דין, . . II. i. 180-184.  
אבא, . . . . II. i. 316  
אגדה, . . . . II. i. 330, 339.  
אדר, month, . . I. ii. 363, 371.

אזוב, . . . . II. i. 43.  
איר, month, . . I. ii.  
איש הבירה, . . II. i. 267.  
איש הר הבית, . II. i. 267.  
אלול, month, . . I. ii. 363.  
אלינסתן, . . . II. ii. 284.

אמן, . . . . . II. ii. 78, 82.  
 אמרכלן, . . . . . II. i. 264.  
 אנלנן, . . . . . II. ii. 75.  
 ארץ אחרת, . . . . . II. ii. 170.  
 אשכולות, . . . . . II. i. 357.  
 אשלמתא, . . . . . II. i. 311.  
 אתרין = *αἵτριον*, I. i. 300.

## ב

במלנן, . . . . . II. ii. 67.  
 בירה, . . . . . II. i. 267.  
 בית אב, . . . . . II. i. 221.  
 בית דין, . . . . . II. i. 169-172.  
 בית הכנסת, . . . . . II. ii. 68.  
 בית המדרש, . . . . . II. i. 325, ii. 50.  
 בית הספר, . . . . . II. ii. 49, 50.  
 בכורים, . . . . . II. i. 237.  
 בן נכר, . . . . . II. i. 300.  
 בני הכנסת, . . . . . II. ii. 58.  
 בני העיר, . . . . . II. ii. 57.  
 בר מצוה, . . . . . II. ii. 51.  
 בריתא, . . . . . I. i. 133.  
 ברכת המינים, . . . . . II. ii. 88.

## ג

גאלה, on coins, I. ii. 385, 386.  
 גבאי צדקה, . . . . . II. ii. 66.  
 גבינה, . . . . . II. i. 42.  
 גדר יון, . . . . . II. i. 23.  
 גזברים, . . . . . II. i. 264.  
 גזית, . . . . . II. i. 191.  
 גזרה שוה, . . . . . II. i. 336.  
 גיהנום, . . . . . II. ii. 183.  
 גיורא, . . . . . II. ii. 315.  
 גיורת, . . . . . II. ii. 315.  
 גיניסיא, . . . . . I. ii. 26 f.  
 גן עדן, . . . . . II. ii. 183.  
 גר תושב, . . . . . II. ii. 316-319.  
 גרי הצדק, . . . . . II. ii. 316 f.  
 גרי השער, . . . . . II. ii. 316-319.  
 גרים, . . . . . II. ii. 315.  
 גרים, . . . . . II. i. 43.

## ד

דברי חכמים, . . . . . II. i. 334.  
 דברי סופרים, . . . . . II. i. 314, 333.  
 דושרא, . . . . . II. i. 22.  
 דין, . . . . . II. i. 334.  
 דלעת, . . . . . II. i. 43.  
 דרוש, . . . . . II. i. 348.

דרך ארץ, . . . . . II. i. 333.  
 דרש, . . . . . II. i. 330.  
 דרשה, . . . . . II. ii. 82.  
 דרשן, . . . . . II. ii. 82.  
 דת יהודית, . . . . . II. i. 333.

## ה

הבדלה, . . . . . II. ii. 88.  
 הנדה, . . . . . II. i. 330. See also  
 אנדה  
 הלכה, . . . . . II. i. 330, 332, 329,  
 ii. 12.  
 הפטיר בנביא, . . . . . II. ii. 81.  
 הרצאת דמים, . . . . . II. ii. 319.

## ז

זבחי שלמים, . . . . . II. i. 236, 279.  
 זונות, . . . . . II. i. 356.  
 זוז, . . . . . II. i. 39.  
 זיתוס, . . . . . II. i. 42.  
 זכר, . . . . . II. i. 336.  
 זקן, . . . . . II. i. 360, 361, 364.  
 See also "Elders"  
 in Index D.

## ח

חביתים, . . . . . II. i. 289.  
 חבל, . . . . . II. i. 45.  
 חבלי המשיח, . . . . . II. ii. 155.  
 חבר, Chaber, . . . . . II. i. 324, ii. 8 f,  
 22-25.  
 חבר היהודים,  
 Cheber, . . . . . I. i. 284.  
 חבר עיר, Cheber, . . . . . II. ii. 57.  
 חנויות, חנויות, . . . . . II. i. 190 f.  
 חומץ, . . . . . II. i. 42.  
 חזן, . . . . . II. i. 273, ii. 66.  
 חכמים, . . . . . II. i. 315, 334.  
 חלה, . . . . . II. i. 241.  
 חללים, . . . . . II. i. 272.  
 חמתה, . . . . . II. i. 101, 144.  
 חנכה, . . . . . I. i. 218.  
 חסידים, . . . . . II. i. 357. See also  
 "Chasidim" in  
 Index D.  
 חסין, Essenes, . . . . . II. ii. 191.  
 חצוצרית, . . . . . II. i. 272, ii. 75.  
 חצר, . . . . . II. i. 154.  
 חרדל, . . . . . II. i. 43.  
 חרות, on coins, I. ii. 385, 386.

חרם, something devoted, . . . II. i. 246.  
 חרם, exclusion from the Church, . . . II. ii. 60.

## ט

טבילה, . . . See "Washing" in Index D.  
 טבת, month, . . . I. ii. 363.  
 טוטפות, . . . II. ii. 113.  
 טלית, . . . II. ii. 113.

## י

יהודית, Jewish, II. i. 332.  
 יהוה, pronounced in the temple as it spells, . II. i. 296.  
 — not pronounced in the synagogue worship, . . II. ii. 82.

## כ

כותח, . . . II. i. 42.  
 כותים, . . . II. i. 6.  
 כיוור, . . . II. i. 278, 283.  
 כמח, *κμμν*, . . II. i. 229.  
 כנור, . . . II. i. 272.  
 כנישתא, . . . II. ii. 68.  
 כנישתא דנופנא, II. ii. 74.  
 כנסת, . . . II. ii. 58. See also חזן, בני, בית ראש.  
 כנסת הגדולה, . II. i. 354.  
 כסלו, month, . . I. ii. 363.  
 כפיפה, . . . II. i. 45.  
 כפר, . . . II. i. 154, 155.  
 כפרה, . . . II. ii. 320.  
 כרד, . . . II. i. 155.  
 כרם, . . . II. i. 326.  
 כתבי הקדש, . . II. i. 311.

## ל

לולב, *λοῖνός*, . . . I. i. 300.  
 לשון הקדש, . . II. i. 10.  
 לשכת הגזית, . . II. i. 190.

## מ

מדרש, . . . II. i. 330, 339, 341.  
 מועדי אל, . . . II. ii. 54, iii. 16.  
 מופלא, . . . II. i. 184.  
 מוצאי שביעית, . I. i. 41.  
 מוצאי שבת, . . . I. i. 41.  
 מזוזה, . . . II. i. 112.  
 מטפחות, . . . II. ii. 74.  
 מילה, . . . II. ii. 319. See also "Circumcision" in Index D.  
 מינים, . . . II. ii. 88.  
 מכס, . . . I. ii. 66, 71.  
 מלכות שמים, . II. ii. 171.  
 מעמד, . . . II. i. 275.  
 מצלחים, . . . II. i. 271.  
 מקרא, . . . II. i. 333.  
 מר, *μαρ*, . . . I. ii. 93.  
*μαρκαδ αθ*, II. i. 9.  
 מרחשן, month, I. ii. 363.  
 משוץ, . . . I. i. 204.  
 משיחא, . . . II. i. 9, ii. 158.  
 משל, . . . II. iii. 24.  
 משמר, . . . II. i. 220.  
 משנה, . . . I. i. 119 f.; II. i. 324.  
 משנה ראשונה, . I. i. 120.  
 מחורנמן, . . . II. ii. 81.

## נ

נבל, . . . II. i. 272.  
 נדבות, . . . II. i. 253, 300.  
 נדוי, . . . II. ii. 61.  
 נדרים, . . . II. i. 253, 300.  
 ניסן, month, . . I. ii. 363.  
 נשיא, . . . II. i. 180-184; on coins, I. ii. 386.  
 נתניר, . . . II. ii. 315.  
 נתנים, . . . II. i. 225 f., 273.

## ס

סגן, . . . II. i. 257-259.  
 סוד, . . . II. i. 348.  
 סופרים, . . . II. i. 314, 333.  
 סיון, month, . . I. ii. 363.  
 סיקרים, . . . I. ii. 179.  
 סירא, . . . II. iii. 25.  
 סלם, . . . II. i. 44.  
 סמיכה, . . . II. i. 177.  
 סעידה, . . . II. ii. 174.

## ע

|                          |                  |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| עבר לפני התיבה           | II. ii. 78.      |
| עושים                    | II. i. 43.       |
| עולם הזה }<br>עולם הבא } | II. ii. 177-179. |
| עיר                      | II. i. 154, 155. |
| עלת התמיד                | II. i. 284.      |
| עש הארץ                  | II. ii. 8, 22 f. |
| ערב שבת                  | I. i. 41.        |

## פ

|              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------|
| פול          | II. i. 43.      |
| פולחוס       | See πόλεμος.    |
| פחות         | II. i. 259.     |
| פירות, taxes | II. ii. 45.     |
| פרדס         | II. ii. 183.    |
| פר"דס        | II. i. 348.     |
| פרדסות סבסמי | II. i. 125.     |
| פרחבול       | II. i. 32, 362. |
| פרומה        | II. i. 40.      |
| פרושים       | II. ii. 19.     |
| פרישה        | II. ii. 19.     |
| פרישות       | II. ii. 19.     |
| פרשיות       | II. ii. 80.     |
| פשט          | II. i. 348.     |

## צ

|         |                 |
|---------|-----------------|
| צבור    | II. ii. 59.     |
| צופוס   | I. ii. 213.     |
| ציצית   | II. ii. 111.    |
| צלצל    | II. i. 271.     |
| צמח דוד | II. ii. 159.    |
| צפה     | II. ii. 15, 17. |

## ק

|                                       |                    |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| קבלה                                  | II. i. 311.        |
| קדשים קלים                            | II. i. 243.        |
| קהל                                   | II. ii. 59.        |
| קוסים                                 | II. i. 45.         |
| קופה                                  | II. i. 46, ii. 66. |
| קילקי                                 | II. i. 44.         |
| קל יהומר                              | II. i. 336.        |
| קנא, קנאן                             | I. ii. 80.         |
| קצמרא, קצרה<br>castra, ἀκρό-<br>πολις | II. i. 130.        |

|              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| קצץ          | II. i. 22.  |
| קרן, capital | II. ii. 45. |
| קתוליקן      | II. i. 264. |

## ר

|                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| ראיה            | II. i. 336.      |
| ראש בית אב      | II. i. 221, 257. |
| ראש בית רץ      | II. i. 184.      |
| ראש הכנסת       | II. ii. 64.      |
| ראש המשמר       | II. i. 221.      |
| ראש חבר היהודים | I. i. 284.       |
| רבי, רבן        | II. i. 315.      |
| רמז             | II. i. 348.      |
| רשות            | II. ii. 120.     |

## ש

|                          |                     |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| שבט, month               | I. ii. 363.         |
| שבת, ἄσπετος             | II. i. 239.         |
| שופרות                   | II. ii. 75.         |
| שכר                      | II. i. 42.          |
| שליה צבור                | II. ii. 67, 78.     |
| שלמים                    | See זבחי שלמים.     |
| שמונה עשרה               | II. ii. 77, 85-88.  |
| שמים, metonym<br>for God | II. ii. 171.        |
| שמע                      | II. ii. 77, 84.     |
| שמתא                     | II. ii. 60.         |
| שנה, δευτεροῦν           | I. i. 119, ii. 324. |
| שפלה                     | I. i. 252.          |
| שקן משמם                 | I. i. 208.          |

## ת

|              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| תחום הרבת    | II. ii. 102. |
| תחית המתים   | II. ii. 179. |
| תיבה         | II. ii. 74.  |
| תלמוד        | I. i. 133.   |
| תלמידי חכמים | II. i. 324.  |
| תמוח, month  | I. ii. 363.  |
| תמחוי        | II. ii. 66.  |
| תמיד         | II. i. 284.  |
| תנופה        | II. i. 284.  |
| תפלה         | II. ii. 85.  |
| תפלן         | II. ii. 113. |
| תרומה        | II. i. 238.  |
| תשרי, month  | I. ii. 363.  |

## C.—GREEK WORDS.

| α.   |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| αββᾶ, . . .  | II. i. 9.  |  |
| ἀγορανόμος, . . .  | II. i. 146.                                      |  |
| ἀζανίται, . . .  | II. ii. 66.                                      |  |
| ἀήρ, ῥῆς, . . .  | II. i. 46.                                       |  |
| ἀθεύτης of the<br>Jews, . . .  | II. iii. 265.                                    |  |
| αἰὼν οὗτος, . . .  | II. ii. 177-179.                                 |  |
| — μέλλων, . . .  |  |  |
| ἐρχόμενος, . . .   |  |  |
| ἀκελδαμάχι, . . .  | II. i. 9, iii. 25.                               |  |
| ἀκρόασις, . . .  | I. ii. 131.                                      |  |
| ἀκρόπολις, . . .   | II. i. 139.                                      |  |
| ἀλαβάρχη, . . .  | II. ii. 280.                                     |  |
| ἀμην, . . .  | II. ii. 78, 82                                   |  |
| ἀμιξία of the<br>Jews, . . .   | II. iii. 268.                                    |  |
| ἀνάθεμα, . . .   | II. ii. 61.                                      |  |
| ἀναλογεῖον, . . .  | II. ii. 75.                                      |  |
| ἀνηθον, . . .  | II. i. 239.                                      |  |
| ἀντιστράτηγος =<br>pro praetore, . . .   | I. i. 348.                                       |  |
| ἀντίψυχον, . . .   | II. iii. 246.                                    |  |
| ἀπογράφειν,<br>ἀπογραφῆς, . . .  | I. ii. 112, 137.                                 |  |
| ἀραβάρχης, . . .   | II. ii. 280.                                     |  |
| ἀριστοκρατία,<br>the Jewish<br>constitution in the<br>times of the<br>Procurators, . . . | I. ii. 72; II. i. 171.                           |  |
| ἀρχή, ἄρχι, . . .  | II. i. 31, 138.                                  |  |
| ἀρχιερρατικὸν<br>γένος, . . .  | II. i. 205.                                      |  |
| ἀρχιερεῖς (see<br>also "High<br>Priest" in<br>Index D), . . .                            | II. i. 177, 203-205.                             |  |
| ἀρχιερεὺς, as<br>title of non-<br>Jewish prin-<br>ces, . . .                             | I. ii. 331, 334.                                 |  |
| ἀρχισυνάγωγος, . . .   | II. ii. 252.                                     |  |
| ἀρχιτελώνης, . . .   | I. ii. 68.                                       |  |
| ἀρχοντες in<br>Jerusalem, . . .  | II. i. 177.                                      |  |
| ἀρχοντες in the<br>Dispersion, . . .   | See "Archons" in<br>Index D.                     |  |
| ἀρχων, . . .   | II. i. 66, 145.                                  |  |
| ἀσθενής, אֲשֵׁנִי, . . .   | II. i. 47.                                       |  |
| Ἀσιδαῖοι, . . .  | See Chasidim in<br>Index D.                      |  |
| ἀσπάργος,<br>אֲסַרְגָּס, . . .   | II. i. 43.                                       |  |
| ἀσσάριον, אֲסָרִי, . . .   | II. i. 39.                                       |  |
| ἄσυλος, . . .  | See "Asylum"<br>(right of) in<br>Index D.        |  |
| αὐλάν, the Jor-<br>dan-valley, . . .   | I. i. 424-425.                                   |  |
| αὐτονομία, . . .   | II. i. 64. See also<br>"Autonomy" in<br>Index D. |  |
| β.   |  |  |
| B, the letter B<br>=the second<br>district of the<br>city of Alex-<br>andria, . . .      | II. ii. 229.                                     |  |
| βαλανεύς, בַּל, . . .  | II. i. 33.                                       |  |
| βασίλεια τῶν<br>οὐρανῶν, . . .   | II. ii. 171.                                     |  |
| βασίλική, בַּסִּילִי, . . .  | II. i. 34. See "Basi-<br>lica" in Index D.       |  |
| βδέλυγμα τῆς<br>ἐρημώσεως, . . .   | I. i. 208.                                       |  |
| βῆμα, בֵּימָה, . . .   | II. i. 34, ii. 75.                               |  |
| βίος, διὰ βίου, . . .  | II. ii. 250.                                     |  |
| βουλή, βουλευ-<br>ταί, βουλευτή-<br>ριον in Jeru-<br>salem, . . .                        | II. i. 151, 172, 190.                            |  |
| βυρσεύς, בֹּרְסִי, . . .   | II. i. 45.                                       |  |
| γ.   |  |  |
| Γ = גַּמַּל, used to<br>represent the<br>figure Γ, . . .                                 | II. i. 50.                                       |  |
| γαββαθᾶ, . . .   | II. i. 9.  |  |
| γαζοφύλακες,<br>גַּזְזֹפְּלָאִיוֹן, . . .  | II. i. 261.                                      |  |
| γιέννα, . . .  | II. ii. 183.                                     |  |
| γιώρας, . . .  | II. ii. 315.                                     |  |
| γενάρχη, . . .   | II. ii. 244.                                     |  |
| γενέσια, . . .   | I. ii. 27.                                       |  |



γῆνη ἀρχιερέων,  
γῆνος ἀρχιε-  
ρατικόν, . . . II. i. 204, 205.  
γερουσία, . . . See "Gerusia" in  
Index D.  
γερουσιάρχης,  
γερουσιάρχων,  
γῆρας, . . . II. ii. 248.  
γιώρας, . . . II. ii. 315.  
γιώρας, . . . See γειώρας.  
γλωσσόκομον,  
κρησθῆναι, . . . II. i. 46.  
γνώριμοι, . . . II. i. 177.  
γολγοθᾶ, . . . II. i. 9.  
γραμματῆς, . . . II. i. 313, 314.

## δ.

Δ (τὸ καλούμενη  
Δίλτα) = the  
fourth city  
district of  
Alexandria, . . . II. ii. 230.  
δαλματική,  
δαιριμῆ, . . . II. i. 44.  
δαίγμα, δαίμα, . . . II. i. 46.  
δαίμα, . . . See σύνδειπνα.  
δέκα πρώτοι, . . . II. i. 145.  
δεξιολαβοί, . . . I. ii. 55.  
δευτερώ, δευτε-  
ρωσις, δευτε-  
ρωτής, . . . I. i. 119, 120 ; II.  
i. 324.  
δηνάριον, δηνῆ, . . . II. i. 39.  
διὰ βίου, . . . II. ii. 250.  
διαθήκη, ριγῆ, . . . II. i. 32. See also  
"Testament" in  
Index D.  
διδραχμον, . . . II. i. 41. See also  
"Didrachma  
tax" in Index D.  
δυνατοί, . . . II. i. 178.

## ε.

ἐθνάρχης, . . . I. i. 378 ; II. ii.  
244.  
ἐκκλησία, . . . II. ii. 58 f.  
Ἑλληνιστί,  
ἑλληνιστῆς,  
ἑλῶ, . . . II. ii. 284.  
ἑλῶ, . . . II. i. 10.  
ἐμπόλια,  
ἐμπόλιον, . . . II. i. 44.  
ἐνσαραμῆ, . . . I. i. 265.

ἐξιδρα, ἑξιδρα, II. i. 34.  
ἐξηγῆται πατ-  
ρίων νόμων, . . . II. i. 314.  
ἐπαρχος, . . . I. ii. 45 ; II. i. 66.  
ἐπηλυσ, . . . I. ii. 93 (Philo in  
Flacc. § 8).  
ἐπήλυτος, . . . II. ii. 316.  
ἐπισπασμός, . . . I. i. 204.  
ἐπίτροπος,  
ἐπιτροπία, . . . II. i. 31.  
ἐπίτροπος, as  
title of state  
official, . . . I. i. 378, ii. 45.  
ἐρανοί, . . . II. ii. 254.  
ἐνσεβής, as title,  
ἐφημερία, ἐφη-  
μερίς, . . . II. i. 221.  
ἐφθαθᾶ, . . . II. i. 9.

## ζ.

ζᾶ βίου = δια-  
βίου, . . . II. ii. 250.  
ζηλωτής, . . . I. ii. 80.  
ζυθος, ζυθός, . . . II. i. 42.

## η.

ἡγεμονία,  
ἡγεμονία, . . . II. i. 31.  
ἡγεμών, ἡγεμῶν, . . . II. i. 31 ; I. ii. 264,  
276.  
ἡγεμών = praeses,  
as title of  
the Roman  
governor, . . . I. ii. 45.

## θ.

θέρμος, θέρμος, II. i. 43.  
θήκη, ριγῆ, . . . II. i. 46, ii. 74.  
θίωσοι, . . . II. ii. 254.  
θύρα ὡραία, . . . II. i. 35, 280.  
θυρεός, θυρεός, . . . II. i. 31.

## ι.

ιδιώτης, ιδιωτῆς, II. i. 46.  
ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος, See "Asylum"  
(right of) in  
Index D.  
ἱερογραμματῆς, II. i. 314.  
ἱεροψάλται, . . . II. i. 271.  
ἰσοπολιτεία, . . . II. i. 148.

|                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
|                    | κ.                 |
| καθάριστον, . . .  | II. iii. 246.      |
| καθίδρα, קתדרא,    | II. i. 45.         |
| καθήγορος,         |                    |
| קטניור, . . .      | II. i. 32.         |
| καῖρος, קירוס, . . | II. i. 45.         |
| κάλαμος, קלמס,     | II. i. 37.         |
| κάμπτρα,           |                    |
| קמטרא, . . .       | II. i. 46.         |
| πάνναβος, קנבוס,   | II. i. 45.         |
| καταφερής,         |                    |
| קמפרס, . . .       | II. i. 47.         |
| κεφάλαιον, . . .   | I. ii. 69.         |
| κῆτος, . . .       | II. i. 15.         |
| κισβός, . . .      | II. ii. 74.        |
| κίστρις, . . .     | II. i. 36.         |
| κιστρισταί, . . .  | II. i. 271.        |
| κινύρα, . . .      | II. i. 272.        |
| κίτριον = אחרון,   | I. i. 300.         |
| κοδράντης, . . .   | II. i. 40.         |
| κοινόν of Jeru-    |                    |
| salem, . . .       | II. i. 172.        |
| κορβανᾶς, . . .    | II. i. 9.          |
| κράσπεδα, . . .    | II. ii. 112.       |
| κυβεία, קוביא, . . | II. i. 36.         |
| κύμβαλα, . . .     | II. i. 271.        |
| κύμινον, . . .     | II. i. 239.        |
| κύμη, . . .        | II. i. 154, 160 f. |
| κύμυπολις, . . .   | II. i. 154, 161.   |

|                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
|                   | λ.               |
| לנינות, לגיונות,  | II. i. 31.       |
| λεπτόν, פרוטת,    | II. i. 40.       |
| ληστῆς, לשמים,    | II. i. 46.       |
| Διβερτίνοι, . . . | II. ii. 57, 276. |
| λόγια δέκα, the   |                  |
| ten com-          |                  |
| mandments, . . .  | II. iii. 342 ff. |

|                    |             |
|--------------------|-------------|
|                    | μ.          |
| μαμωνᾶς, . . .     | II. i. 9.   |
| μαοῶν ἄβᾶ, . . .   | II. i. 9.   |
| μάριν, . . .       | I. ii. 93.  |
| μαρσύσιον, מרסיון, | II. i. 46.  |
| μέγας, in what     |             |
| sense Herod        |             |
| so called, . . .   | I. i. 467.  |
| μέγας βασιλεύς,    | I. ii. 162. |
| μεριδάρχης, . . .  | I. i. 243.  |
| Μεσσίας, . . .     | II. i. 9.   |
| μητροκωμία, . . .  | II. i. 161. |

|                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| μητρόπολις, . . . | See "Metropolis" |
|                   | in Index D       |
| μίσθωσις, . . .   | I. ii. 70.       |
| μονοπώλης, מנפול, | II. i. 38.       |

|                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
|                    | ν.              |
| νάβλα, . . .       | II. i. 272.     |
| νάγνος, נגנ, . . . | II. i. 46.      |
| νεακόροι, . . .    | II. i. 273.     |
| νήμα, נימא, . . .  | II. i. 45.      |
| νομικοί, . . .     | II. i. 314.     |
| νομοδιδάσκαλοι,    | II. i. 314.     |
| νόμος, embrac-     |                 |
| ing also the       |                 |
| Prophets and       |                 |
| the Poetical       |                 |
| Writings, . . .    | II. i. 312.     |
| νουμηνία, . . .    | I. ii. 377. See |
|                    | "New Moon" in   |
|                    | Index D.        |

|                      |             |
|----------------------|-------------|
|                      | ξ.          |
| ξένοι, אכסניא, . . . | II. i. 34.  |
| ξυστός, . . .        | II. i. 191. |

|                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
|                   | ο.               |
| ὀθίνιον Ἰνδικόν,  | II. i. 44.       |
| οἰκουμένη in      |                  |
| Luke, . . .       | I. ii. 112, 142. |
| οὐρανοί, me-      |                  |
| tonym for         |                  |
| God, . . .        | II. ii. 171.     |
| ὀψώνιον, אופסניא, | II. i. 31.       |

|                     |                  |
|---------------------|------------------|
|                     | π.               |
| παλιγγενεσία, . .   | II. i. 177; also |
|                     | Addenda in       |
|                     | Index vol.       |
| πανάρετος σοφία,    | II. iii. 27, 28. |
| πανδοκείον, פונדוק, | II. i. 34.       |
| παράδεισος, . . .   | II. ii. 183.     |
| παράκλητος,         |                  |
| פרקליט, . . .       | II. i. 32.       |
| πατέροι, פהדרין,    | II. i. 32.       |
| πάσχα, . . .        | II. i. 9.        |
| πατήρ as title, . . | See "Abba" and   |
|                     | "Pater" in In-   |
|                     | dex D.           |
| πατριά, . . .       | II. i. 221.      |
| πενταετηρίς, . . .  | II. i. 26.       |

περτική, פֶּרְסִי, II. i. 43.  
 πῖθος, פִּיטָה, II. i. 46.  
 μιλίον, מִלִּיּוֹן, II. i. 44.  
 πῖναξ, פִּנְאָקְס, II. i. 38.  
 πόλεμος, פּוֹלֶמוֹס, II. i. 31; I. ii. 5,  
 286.  
 πόλις, . . . II. i. 154 f.  
 πολίτευμα, . . . II. ii. 246.  
 πραιτάριον, . . . I. ii. 48.  
 πρατήρ, פֶּלְטֶר, II. i. 38.  
 πρεσβευτής = *legatus Augusti*, . . . I. i. 348.  
 πρεσβυτέριον, . . . II. i. 172.  
 πρεσβύτεροι, . . . See "Elders" in  
 Index D.  
 προσβολή, פְּרוֹבּוֹלָה, II. i. 32, 363.  
 προσευκτήριον, . . . II. ii. 69.  
 προσευχή = *dyngogone*, . . . II. ii. 68-74.  
 προσήλυτοι, . . . II. ii. 316.  
 προστασία τοῦ  
 ἔθνους, . . . I. ii. 72.  
 πρωτοκαθεδρία, . . . II. ii. 75.  
 πρώτος com-  
 parative, . . . I. ii. 135.  
 — πρώτοι δέκα, II. i. 145.

## ρ.

ραββί, . . . II. i. 315.  
 ραββουνί, . . . II. i. 316.  
 ρακά, . . . II. i. 9.

## σ.

σαβαχθανί, . . . II. i. 9.  
 σαμβατειον, . . . II. ii. 69.  
 Σαμβαθειον, . . . II. ii. 69.  
 σάνδαλον, סַנְדָּל, II. i. 44.  
 Σαραμείλ, . . . I. i. 265.  
 Σαρβήθ Σαβα-  
 ναιέλ, . . . II. iii. 9.  
 σατανᾶς, . . . II. i. 9.  
 Σεβαστή σπείρα, I. ii. 53.  
 Σεβαστός, . . . See "Augustus"  
 in Index D.  
 σεβόμενοι τὸν  
 θεόν, . . . II. ii. 308, 314-319.  
 Σεφίλα, . . . I. i. 251 f.  
 σικάριοι, . . . I. ii. 178, 179.  
 σινδόνες, סִנְדִּיקָאִי, II. i. 44.  
 σιράχ = סִירָא, II. iii. 25.  
 σιτώνης, סִיטוֹנִי, II. i. 38.

σκηνοποιός, . . . II. i. 44.  
 συνδάριον, סוּדָרִיּוֹן, II. i. 44.  
 σοφισταί, . . . II. i. 314.  
 σπείρα Ἰταλική, I. ii. 54.  
 σπείρα Σεβαστή, I. ii. 53.  
 σπεκουλάτωρ, . . . I. ii. 62 f.  
 στάδιον, סְטָדִיּוֹן, II. i. 34.  
 στατήρ, . . . II. i. 39.  
 στίμμα, στίμ-  
 ματα, . . . I. i. 69.  
 στοά, סוֹטָא, II. i. 35.  
 στολή, סוֹלֵי, II. i. 44.  
 στρατηγός, . . . I. i. 242, 265, 383,  
 384, 386; II. i.  
 66.

στρατηγὸς τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ, . . . II. i. 258.  
 στρατιά,  
 אֶרֶב־רַמָּה, II. i. 31.  
 συμβόλαιά τῶν  
 δεδανικῶτων, II. i. 363.  
 συμβούλιον of  
 the Roman  
 governor, . . . I. ii. 60.  
 σύμμαχος Ῥω-  
 αίων, . . . I. i. 449.  
 συμφωνία,  
 אֶרֶב־רַמָּה, II. i. 36.  
 συναγωγή =  
 church or  
 congregation, II. ii. 58, 246.  
 συναγωγή, the  
 building in  
 which the  
 congrega-  
 tion meets, . . . II. ii. 68.  
 συναγωγή ἱλαίας, II. ii. 74.  
 συναγωγίον, . . . II. ii. 69.  
 συνεδριον, סִנְדִּיקָאִי, II. i. 32, 169, 172.  
 — its  
 meaning  
 generally, . . . II. i. 169.  
 συνεδριον at  
 Jerusalem, . . . II. i. 168-173.  
 συνεδρία of Ga-  
 binus, . . . II. i. 168; I. i.  
 373 f.  
 σύνοδοι, . . . II. i. 168.

## τ.

ταλιθα κούμ, . . . II. i. 9.  
 τάριχος, . . . II. i. 43, 44.  
 τελώνης, . . . I. ii. 68.

τετράρχης, . . . I. ii. 7, 8.  
 τρίκλινος, תְּרִיכְלִימֹס, II. i. 35.  
 τύπος, טִיפּוּס, . . . II. i. 46.

## υ.

ὑμνωδοί, . . . II. i. 271.  
 ὑπαρχοί, . . . II. i. 146.  
 ὑπηρέτης, . . . II. ii. 66, 252.  
 ὑποθετικά, ὑπο-  
 θετικοί λόγοι, II. iii. 355 f.  
 ὑποθήκη, יְרִיטוּפָא, II. i. 32.

## φ.

φελόνη, . . . II. ii. 75.  
 Φιάλη, יָיִפ, . . . II. i. 45.  
 Φιλέλλην, . . . I. i. 184, 292, ii.  
 353.  
 Φιλόκαισαρ, . . . I. ii. 162, 343.  
 Φιλοκλαύδιος, . . . I. ii. 343.  
 Φιλοράμμιος, . . . I. i. 437, ii. 162,  
 163, 343.  
 φίλος καὶ σύμ-  
 μαχος Ῥωμ-  
 αίων, . . . I. i. 449.

φοβούμενοι τὸν  
 θεόν, . . . II. ii. 308, 314-  
 319.  
 Φοίνιξ=פִּינִיץ, . . . I. i. 300.  
 Φυλακτήρια, . . . II. ii. 113.  
 Φυλή, . . . II. i. 2<sup>o</sup>1.

## χ.

X = כּי, used to  
 represent  
 the figure X, II. i. 50.  
 Χιλίαρχος, . . . I. ii. 55.  
 Χριστός, . . . II. ii. 158.

## ψ.

ψαλμωδοί, ψαλ-  
 τωδοί, . . . II. i. 271.  
 ψαλτήριον, . . . II. i. 36.

## ω.

ὠδεῖον, . . . II. i. 27.  
 ὠδῖνες, . . . II. i. 155.

## D.—NAMES AND SUBJECTS.

THOSE passages in which the fullest treatment of the subject in question is to be found are distinguished by an asterisk.—In classifying names under the letters C and K, attention has been given to the most approved English orthography, and where the practice of translators of Divisions I. and II. differs, entries have been made under both letters.

## A

- Aaron's sons alone have the privilege of priesthood, II. i. 209 f., 224, 225.  
 Ab, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.  
 Ab beth-din, title, II. i. 180-184.  
 Abadim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.  
 Abba, title, II. i. 316. Comp. also *pater*.  
 Abba Areka, disciple of R. Judah, I. i. 134.  
 Abba Gorion or Gurjan II., II. i. 316.  
 Abba Gorion I., Midrash of, I. i. 149.  
 Abba Saul, I. i. 127; II. i. 316, 378.  
 Abel, see Abila.  
 Abia, one of the courses of the priests, II. i. 219, 274.  
 Abias, king of Arabia, I. ii. 359.  
 Abida, II. i. 105.  
 Abila, various places of this name, II. i. 104.  
 Abila in Decapolis, I. i. 307; II. i. 104, 105; coins and era of, II. i. 105.  
 Abila Lysaniä, and Abilene, I. ii. 335-339; Lysaniä, situation and coins, I. ii. 336.  
 Aboda sara, Talmudic tract, I. i. 124.  
 Aboth, Tract, see Pirke Aboth.  
 Aboth derabbi Nathan, Tract, I. i. 143.  
 Abraham, legends about, II. i. 342; as astrologer, II. i. 342, iii. 206; history in Artapanus, II. iii. 206; history in Cleodemus, II. iii. 210; history in Eupolemus, II. iii. 210; history in Philo the Epic poet, II. iii. 223; history in Appolonius Molon, II. iii. 253; history in Philo the philosopher, II. iii. 335 ff., 341; comp. also Josephus and Book of Jubilees; reference to in pseudo-Orpheus, II. iii. 299; treatise of Hecataeus about, II. iii. 296, 305 ff.; apocryphal treatises about, II. iii. 143.  
 Abraham's children, prerogatives of, according to Philo, II. iii. 369; proselytes not allowed the name of, II. ii. 326.  
 Abtaljon, II. i. 180, 353, 359.  
 Abtinäs, priestly course engaged in preparation of incense, II. i. 268.  
 Abydenus, II. iii. 282.  
 Acco, Ace, see Ptolemais.  
 Acme, female Jewish slave of the Empress Livia, II. ii. 38.  
 Acra, citadel of Jerusalem in Epistle of Aristéas, II. iii. 310; history in Maccabean age, I. i. 206,\* 222, 236, 241, 245, 247, 253, 262, 270; its position, I. i. 206 f., ii. 238; levelling of the hill of the, I. i. 262.  
 Acrabatta, capital of a toparchy, II. i. 157-161; besieged by Vespasian, I. ii. 232; another in the south of Judea, I. i. 220; II. i. 158.  
 Actia Dusaria in Adraa and Bostra, II. i. 22.  
 Actian games, when celebrated, I. i. 409.

- Actium, battle of, I. i. 344 f., 427.  
 Adam, Legends about, II. i. 342;  
   books of, II. iii. 147 f.; his sin  
   and its consequences to mankind,  
   II. iii. 89 f.  
 Adar, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363;  
   first and second, I. ii. 371.  
 Adasa, place so named, I. i. 229.  
 Adda, R., in Sura, I. ii. 372.  
 Adiabene, conversion of royal family  
   to Judaism, II. ii. 308-311.  
 Adida, place so named, I. i. 251 f.,\*  
   254, 304, II. 231.  
 Adin, family, II. i. 253.  
 Adora in Idumea, I. i. 254, 280.\*  
 Adraa in Batanea, I. ii. 11; "Ακτια  
   Δουσάρια there, II. i. 22.  
 Adramyttium, Jews there, II. ii. 261.  
 Aegina, Jewish inscriptions there,  
   II. ii. 65, 232.  
 Aelia Capitolina, I. ii. 291, 294, 315-  
   317; entrance forbidden to the  
   Jews, I. ii. 315; worship and  
   coins, I. ii. 316.  
 Aelius Gallus, campaign against  
   Arabia, I. i. 406, 407, 453.  
 Aelius, L. Lamia, I. i. 360-362.  
 Aemilius, M. Scaurus, general of  
   Pompey, I. i. 318, 324; governor  
   of Syria, I. i. 328,\* 372; conquers  
   Aretas, king of Arabia, I. i. 328,  
   ii. 353; brings sea monster from  
   Joppa to Rome, II. i. 15.  
 Aemilius Secundus, lieutenant of  
   Quirinius, I. i. 357, II. 339.  
 Aeneas=Aretas IV.  
 Aequus Modius, I. ii. 200.  
 Aerarium in Rome, I. ii. 65.  
 Aeschylus, forged verses ascribed to,  
   II. iii. 298.  
 Aethicus Ister, I. ii. 118.  
 Aetolia, Jews residing in, II. ii. 222.  
 Africa, derivation of the name, II.  
   iii. 210.  
 Africanus, Julius, probably used  
   Justus of Tiberias in his Chronicle,  
   I. i. 68, 307, 390, 391; on the  
   descent of Herod, I. i. 314; on  
   the additions to Daniel, II. iii.  
   184, 185; on the times of Moses,  
   II. iii. 260; in consequence of his  
   representations Emmaus, under  
   the name of Nicopolis, is raised  
   to a city, I. ii. 254.  
 Agada, see Haggada.  
 Agadath Chasith, I. i. 148.  
 Agadath Megilla, I. i. 149.  
 Agnitos (Egnatius?), Roman gover-  
   nor, I. ii. 264.  
 Agoranomos, II. i. 164.  
 Agriculture, grain a chief product  
   of Palestine, II. i. 41; tithes of  
   produce of soil to priests, II. i.  
   233; main occupation of the  
   Essenes, II. ii. 197.  
 Agrigentum, Jews dwelling there,  
   II. ii. 242.  
 Agrippa, Marcus, friend and son-in-  
   law of Augustus, his influence  
   and doings in the East, I. i. 349;  
   Herod visits him twice in Asia  
   Minor, I. i. 409, 411, 452; at  
   Jerusalem, I. i. 411, 452; sacrifices  
   at Jerusalem, II. i. 302; presents  
   gifts for adornment of Jerusalem,  
   II. i. 305; protects the Jews in  
   Asia Minor, II. ii. 262; returns  
   to Rome, I. i. 411; his map of  
   the world, I. ii. 117; "Αγριππῆσιος,  
   Jewish assemblies in Rome, II. ii.  
   248.  
 Agrippa I., Jewish king, life before  
   ascending the throne, I. i. 361,  
   364, II. 150-155; receives in  
   spring A.D. 37 tetrarchies of  
   Philip and Lysanius, I. ii. 16,  
   153, 336; in autumn A.D. 38 goes  
   from Rome by Alexandria to  
   Palestine, I. ii. 37, 92, 95; receives  
   in beginning of A.D. 40 the  
   tetrarchy of Antipas, I. ii. 36-  
   38; at Rome again in winter  
   A.D. 40-41, I. ii. 101-103, 152;  
   receives also Samaria and Judea,  
   I. ii. 103, 154; reign, I. ii. 155-  
   165; letter to Caligula com-  
   municated by Philo, I. ii. 82,  
   101 f., II. ii. 222; high priests  
   appointed by, II. i. 119; inscrip-  
   tions, I. ii. 155, 162; coins, I. ii.  
   155, 161 f.; title, I. ii. 162; death  
   and account of it, I. ii. 163.  
 Agrippa II., Jewish king, I. ii. 191-  
   206,\* compare I. ii. 165, 168,  
   173, 185, 209, 210, 211, 218, 220;  
   (1) gifts of territory, I. ii. 192,  
   343; (2) gifts of territory, I. ii.  
   193, 336, 340; (3) gifts of terri-

- tory, I. ii. 194; (4) gifts of territory, I. ii. 201; high priests appointed by, II. i. 200 f.; years of his reign variously stated, I. ii. 192 f., 193 f.; inscriptions, I. ii. 162, 192, 193, 195; coins, I. ii. 192, 195, 202; name, I. ii. 191, 192; policy, I. ii. 196; private life, I. ii. 195, 204; building of temple, I. ii. 198; title, I. ii. 196; year of death, I. i. 92, II. ii. 205; relations with Josephus, I. i. 83.
- Agrippa, son of King Alexander, see Julius Agrippa.
- Agrippa, son of Felix and Drusilla, I. ii. 177.
- Agrippa Simonides, son of Josephus, I. i. 82.
- Agrippeion or Agrippias, city (Anthedon), I. i. 435, II. i. 72.
- Ἀγρίππης, II. ii. 248.
- Agrippina, wife of Claudius, on Palestinian coins, I. ii. 78, 175.
- Agrippinas, city on the east of the Jordan, I. ii. 176.
- Ake, see Ptolemais.
- Akiba, R., II. i. 375,\* comp. I. i. 126, II. i. 309, 315, 323, 327, 335, 370, 372; announces Bar-Cochba as Messiah, I. ii. 299; death by martyrdom, I. ii. 312; Mishna of, I. i. 130.
- Akkaron, see Ekron.
- Akko, see Ptolemais.
- Ala, organization generally, I. ii. 49; *Ituraeorum*, I. ii. 340 f.; *Sebastenorum*, I. ii. 52.
- Alabanda in Caria, home of Apollonius Molon, II. iii. 252.
- Alabarchs in Egypt (Arabarchs), II. ii. 280.
- Albinus, procurator, I. ii. 188.
- Alcimus = Jakim, the high priest, I. i. 227 f., 230, 234-236.
- Alesia, besieged by Caesar, I. ii. 241.
- Aleuas divides Thessaly into four parts, I. ii. 7.
- Alexander—(1) Kings and princes:—
  - Alexander the Great conquers Gaza, II. i. 68; Hellenizes Samaria, II. i. 123; sacrifices in Jerusalem, I. i. 187, II. i. 301; settles Jews in Alexandria, II. ii. 227; Jewish Alexandrian legends about, I. i. 187; coins of, in Palestinian cities, II. i. 74, 84, 91, 96, 111, 120.
  - Alexander Balas, duration of his reign, I. i. 175; ascends the throne, I. i. 240-243; relations with the Jews, I. i. 240-245; character, I. i. 243; death, I. i. 244 f.
  - Alexander Zabinas, duration of his reign, I. i. 178 f.; secures to himself sovereignty, I. i. 280; his cognomen Zabinas, I. i. 280; his death, I. i. 281.
  - Alexander Jannäus, reign, I. i. 295-307; \* chronology, I. i. 273; the name Jannäus = Jonathan, I. i. 305; conflicts with Pharisees, I. i. 298-301; coins, I. i. 305; Jannäus in Jewish legends interchanged with Herod, I. i. 384, 467.
  - Alexander, son of Aristobulus II., pretender, I. i. 324, 372, 374, 376.
  - Alexander, son of Herod, I. i. 408-415, 455-461.
  - Alexander, king (of house of Herod), on inscription at Ephesus, I. ii. 162.
- Alexander—(2) Other persons:—
  - Alexander Polyhistor, II. iii. 191-200; used the Jewish Sibyllines, II. iii. 199, 282, 288. (197)
  - Alexander, Alabarch, II. ii. 280, iii. 323; nephew of Philo, II. iii. 323; see Tiberius Alexander.
  - Alexander the Zealot, about A.D. 50, I. ii. 172.
  - Alexandra Salome, wife of Aristobulus I. and Alexander Jannäus, I. i. 294; her reign, I. i. 308-312; \* chronology, I. i. 273; called also Salina, I. i. 309; coins, I. i. 308.
  - Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus II., mother-in-law of Herod, I. i. 397, 401, 405, 420 f., 430 f.
  - Alexandreion, fortress, I. i. 320, 372, 436.\*
  - Alexandria, the five city divisions, II. ii. 229; the Jews there, II. ii. 226-230; \* position of the Jews'

- quarter, II. ii. 226-230; constitution of the Jewish community, II. ii. 244 f.; citizen rights of the Jews, II. ii. 271 f.; Jewish Arabarchs, II. ii. 280 f.; enmity between Jews and Gentiles, II. ii. 273; numerous synagogues, I. ii. 93, 95, II. ii. 73, 282; the great synagogue formed like a Basilica, II. ii. 70; special festivals of Alexandrian Jews, II. ii. 257, III. 217, 311; persecution under Caligula, I. ii. 90-99; rebellions under Vespasian and Trajan, I. ii. 283; during the rebellion under Trajan the city is partly laid waste, I. ii. 282; Jewish Hellenistic literature, II. iii. 156-381; synagogue of Alexandria as in Jerusalem, II. i. 49, II. ii. 57, 73.
- Alexandria on the Gulf of Issus, I. ii. 219.
- Alityrus, Jewish actor, I. i. 78, II. 239.
- Alms, receivers of, II. ii. 66.
- Altar of burnt-offering, II. i. 282, 251 f., I. i. 208, 217; of incense, II. i. 281, 289, 293-295.
- Am-haarez, II. ii. 8, 22 f.
- Amarkelin, II. i. 263.
- Amatha, error in text of Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 6, II. i. 141.
- Amathus, fortress under rule of the tyrant Theodorus, II. i. 60; conquered by Jannäus, I. i. 297; destroyed, I. i. 301; site of a Synedrium, I. i. 372.
- Ambrosius, M., procurator, I. ii. 81.
- Ambrose quotes Philo, II. iii. 329; whether Latin version of *Wars of Jews* is by him, I. i. 101.
- Amen, responsive, II. ii. 78, 82.
- Amicus populi Romani*, I. i. 440.
- Amman = Philadelphia, II. i. 119.
- Emmaus = Emmaus.
- Ammon, worship of, in the Hauran, II. i. 23.
- Ammonites, Timotheus leader of the, I. i. 190; defeated by Judas Maccabaeus, I. i. 220; rabbinical statements about, II. ii. 326.
- Amoreans = Jewish scholars in time of Talmud, I. i. 133.
- Amosis, king of Egypt in time of Moses, II. iii. 260.
- Amphitheatre, see Games.
- Ananel, high priest = Chanamel, I. i. 420; II. i. 197.
- Ananias, son of Onias IV., general of Cleopatra, I. i. 297; II. ii. 279.
- Ananias, son of Nedebüus, high priest, II. i. 200. Comp. I. ii. 188, 189, 211; II. i. 182, 202.
- Ananias, Jewish merchant in Adiabene, II. ii. 313.
- Ananias, see also Chananiah.
- Ananos, family, II. i. 204.
- Ananos, son of Seth, high priest (in N. T., Annas), II. i. 182, 198,\* 202, 204.
- Ananos, son of former high priest, II. i. 201,\* comp. I. ii. 186, 214, 228, 229; II. i. 182 f., 204.
- Anapa in Crimea, inscription there, II. ii. 226; is not Jewish. See Addenda in Index vol.
- Anatolius, Christian writer, I. ii. 371, II. iii. 238, 241.
- Ancyranum Monumentum*, I. i. 115.
- Andrew, officer of Ptolemy Philadelphus in the Epistle of Aristeas, II. iii. 307; leader of the Jews in Cyrene, I. ii. 284.
- Andromachus at the court of Herod, I. i. 442.
- Andromeda-myth at Joppa, II. i. 15.
- Andros, island, I. ii. 95.
- Angels, fall, according to Gen. vi. in Book of Enoch, II. iii. 56; doctrine of Pharisees, II. ii. 14; of Essenes, II. ii. 204; of Book of Enoch, II. iii. 56, 57; of Book of Jubilees, II. iii. 137; seventy over Gentile world, II. iii. 63.
- Angitos (Agnitos), I. ii. 264.
- Animal images forbidden, see Images; worship, Egyptian, introduced by Moses, II. iii. 206.
- Annas, see Ananos.
- Annius, L., officer of Vespasian, I. ii. 231.
- Annius, Rufus, procurator (Tineius Rufus), I. ii. 81.
- Anointing with oil omitted in rigid fasting, II. ii. 119; quite abandoned by Essenes, II. ii. 199, 212.



- Antaena, defeated by Hercules**, II. iii. 210.
- Anthedon, city**, II. i. 72-73,\* comp. I. i. 195, 298, 306, 404, 428, 435; worship in, II. i. 12; coins, II. i. 73.
- Anthropomorphisms in the Bible explained by Aristobulus**, II. iii. 240.
- Antibius of Ascalon, philosopher**, II. i. 28.
- Antichrist**, II. ii. 165.
- Antigonos, successor of Alexander the Great**, I. ii. 349, II. i. 67.
- Antigonos of Socho, scribe**, II. i. 356, II. 32.
- Antigonos, son of John Hyrcanus**, I. i. 283, 291.
- Antigonos, son of Aristobulus II., the last Asmonean**, I. i. 324, 374, 378, 389; made king by the Parthians, I. i. 390; his reign, I. i. 392-399; \* his death, I. i. 398 f.; his sister keeps fortress of Hyrcania, I. i. 436; his daughter marries Antipater, son of Herod, I. i. 432, 455.
- Ἀντιοχείς ἐν Πτολεμαίδι** (add to literature: De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, pp. 69-92: *Sur les Monnaies des Antiochéens frappées hors d'Antioche*), II. i. 92.
- Ἀντιοχείς πρὸς Ἰπκον**, II. i. 100.
- Ἀντιοχείς πρὸς τῷ Χρυσόρῳ** (= Gerasa), II. i. 118.
- Ἀντιοχείς**, as title of inhabitants of Jerusalem, I. i. 203.
- Antioch = Gadara**, II. i. 103.
- Antioch in Pisidia, Jewish archisynagogoi there**, II. ii. 65; "those who feared God" there, II. ii. 307.
- Antioch in Syria, Jews there**, II. ii. 225, 249, 271; citizen rights of these, II. ii. 275; their "great synagogue," II. ii. 283; enmity between Jews and Gentiles, II. ii. 274; "those who feared God" there, II. ii. 307; buildings of Herod, I. i. 437.
- Antiochus II., Theos**, II. i. 273. See also Addenda in Index vol.
- Antiochus III., the Great**, II. i. 59, ii. 226.
- Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, literature** about, I. i. 173, 186; duration of reign, I. i. 172; character, I. i. 199-202; Egyptian campaign, I. i. 172 f., 205 f.; undertakings against the Jews, I. i. 202-233; plundering of temple of Jerusalem, I. i. 205; death, I. i. 222; *Megillath Antiochus*, I. i. 165.
- Antiochus V., Eupator, duration of reign**, I. i. 173; undertakings against the Jews, I. i. 225-227; death, I. i. 226 f.
- Antiochus VI., period of reign**, I. i. 176; set up by Trypho as pretender, I. i. 248; murdered by Trypho, I. i. 256.
- Antiochus VII., Sidetes, period of reign**, I. i. 177; secures to himself the sovereignty, I. i. 269; Parthian campaign and death, I. i. 279; relations with the Jews, I. i. 269-279; during siege of Jerusalem sends a sacrifice, II. i. 301.
- Antiochus VIII., Grypos, period of reign**, I. i. 179; title, I. i. 184; beginning of reign, I. i. 181; struggles with Antiochus Cyzicenos, I. i. 281; by his daughter Laodice, ancestor of dynasty of Commagene, I. i. 184 f.
- Antiochus IX., Cyzicenos, period of reign**, I. i. 181; beginning of reign, I. i. 282; character, I. i. 282; supports Samaritans against John Hyrcanus, I. i. 283.
- Antiochus X., Eusebes, period of reign**, I. i. 182.
- Antiochus XI., period of reign**, I. i. 182.
- Antiochus XII., period of reign**, I. i. 182; fights against Jannäus and the Arabian king, I. i. 303, ii. 352; death, I. i. 303, ii. 352.
- Antiochus XIII., period of reign**, I. i. 183.
- Antiochus of Commagene, related to Seleucid dynasty**, I. i. 184; in time of Claudius and Nero, I. ii. 157, 159, 220; in time of Marc Antony, I. i. 341, 395, 398.
- Antiochus of Ascalon, philosopher**, II. i. 28.
- Antipas, a Herodian**, I. ii. 228.
- Antipas Herod**, I. i. 416, 458, 463,

- 464, 466, ii. 2, 5; reign, i. ii. 17-38, 151; character, i. ii. 19; marriage with Herodias, i. ii. 21-23; date of that marriage, i. ii. 32; Jesus Christ, i. ii. 29-32; inscriptions, i. ii. 17; John the Baptist, i. ii. 23-28; war with Aretas, i. ii. 32 f.; coins, i. ii. 20, comp. i. i. 466, ii. 38; founding of cities, i. ii. 18, 19; ii. i. 36-48; banishment and death, i. ii. 36-38.
- Antipater, Jewish ambassador, i. i. 249.
- Antipater, father of Herod, descent, i. i. 314; intrigue against Aristobulus II., i. i. 315; prospers under Hyrcanus II., i. i. 376, 383-386; death, i. i. 386.
- Antipater, son of Herod, i. i. 411-416, 455, 457-462; his wife daughter of last Asmonean Antigonus, i. i. 432, 455.
- Antipater, courtier of Herod Antipas, i. ii. 3.
- Antipater of Ascalon in Athens, i. i. 315.
- Antipatris, city=Capharsaba, ii. i. 130, 131,\* i. i. 303, 435, ii. 231.
- Antiquity of the Jews, ii. iii. 263.
- Antistius, C., Vetus, i. i. 336, 385.
- Antonia, citadel in Jerusalem, i. i. 433 f., ii. 55, 209, 210, 238-242; connection with the temple, i. ii. 55; could be cut off, i. ii. 209, comp. i. ii. 242; garrison in time of procurators, i. ii. 55; the commander in A.D. 6-36 was keeper of high priest's vestments, i. ii. 76.
- Antonia, wife of Drusus, i. ii. 151.
- Antoninus Pius, emperor, inscription to his honour in Aelia (Jerusalem), i. ii. 316; Jewish rebellion under, i. ii. 318; permits circumcision, i. ii. 292; ii. ii. 268.
- Antony, Marc, triumvir, serves under Gabinius in Syria, i. i. 331, 372; after battle of Philippi, master of the East, i. i. 339-344, 387-404, 420-429; decrees in favour of the Jews, i. i. 388; death, i. i. 345, 428.
- Antonius, L., brother of the triumvir, ii. ii. 263.
- Antonius Felix, procurator, see Felix.
- Antonius Julianus, writer, i. i. 64.
- Antonius Melissa, ii. iii. 326.
- Apamea in Phrygia, Jews residing there, ii. ii. 261; in Syria, i. i. 247,\* 269, 337; called also Pella, ii. i. 114; census there, i. i. 357, ii. 123.
- Apellaïos, see Montha.
- Aphairema, see Ephraim.
- Aphrodisias, inscription there, ii. i. 25.
- Aphrodite, her worship in Aelia Capitolina, i. ii. 317; her worship in Ascalon, ii. i. 13; her worship in Gaza, ii. i. 12; her worship in the Hauran, ii. i. 23; her worship in bath of Aphrodite in Ptolemais, ii. i. 18; =Astarte, ii. i. 13; worship of Cyprian Aphrodite in Athens, ii. ii. 253, 300.
- Aphtha, place so named, i. ii. 228.
- Apion, writer, i. i. 93 f.; ii. ii. 294, iii. 257-261;\* leads an embassy of Alexandrians to Rome, i. ii. 96.
- Apocalypse of St. John, did author of Theodotion's translation use it? ii. iii. 174.
- Apocalypses, Jewish, ii. iii. 49-133.
- Apocalypics, nature of, ii. iii. 44-49; bearers of apocalyptic revelations, ii. iii. 44; content of the apocalypses, ii. iii. 45; form of the apocalypses, ii. iii. 46; occasion of, ii. iii. 47.
- Apocrypha of the Old Testament (according to the views of the Protestant Church), editions, translations, and exegetical aids to them, ii. iii. 9-13; Messianic hope, ii. ii. 138; for details see the several articles.
- Apocrypha, lists of, ii. iii. 125.
- Apollo, worship of, in Ascalon, ii. i. 14; in Caesarea, ii. i. 17; in Dora, ii. i. 17; in Gaza, ii. i. 12 f.; in Neapolis, i. ii. 267; in Raphia, ii. i. 12; ancestral god of the Seleucidae, ii. i. 17.
- Apollodorus, chronographer, i. i. 76.
- Apollonia in Palestine, ii. i. 83, i. i.

- 196, 306. See also Addenda in Index vol.
- Apollonia in Pisidia, I. i. 115.
- Apollonius, general of Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 206, 214.
- Apollonius, general in time of Demetrius II., I. i. 244.
- Apollonius of Ascalon, historian, II. i. 28.
- Apollonius Molon, II. iii. 251–254.
- Apologetics, Jewish, II. iii. 249–270.
- Apostoli*, Jewish, II. ii. 269, 290, I. ii. 277.
- Apostolic age, literature on the chronology of, I. i. 21 f.
- Apparitores*, Roman, I. i. 61.
- Appellatio*, Roman, I. i. 59; II. ii. 278.
- Appian, Life and Works, I. i. 112; flies in time of Jewish rebellion from Egypt, I. ii. 281.
- Apsines of Gadara, II. i. 104.
- Apuleius on Moses and other magians, II. iii. 150.
- Apulia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 242.
- Aqueducts in Jerusalem, I. ii. 84, 85; II. iii. 223; at Jericho, I. ii. 41; at Kanata, II. i. 107.
- Aquila, Bible translator, II. iii. 164, 168–172; \* scholar of Akiba, II. i. 376, iii. 170; = Onkelos, I. i. 157, II. iii. 172.
- Aquileia, I. i. 412 f., 457; Jews there: *Οὐρανίου ἀπὸ Ἀκουιλίας*, II. ii. 242, 249.
- Arab, place so named, II. i. 366.
- Arabarchs in Egypt, II. ii. 280.
- Arabia—
- (1) Northern, Nabatean, or Petrean, history to A.D. 106, I. ii. 345–362; as a Roman province, I. ii. 361; deities, II. i. 22; Jews residing there, II. ii. 223.
  - (2) Southern, campaign of Aelius Gallus, I. i. 407; geographical literature, I. i. 407.
- Arach, family, II. i. 252.
- Arachin, Talmudic tract, I. i. 124.
- Aradus, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221.
- Arâk el-Emir, II. i. 36.
- Aramaic language in Palestine, II. i. 8 f.
- Aratus' *Phaenomena*, quotations by Jews and Christians, II. iii. 295.
- Arbatta, district in Palestine, I. i. 192.
- Arbela = Arbad, Irbid, and its caves, near the lake of Gennezaret, I. i. 394; native place of Nittai, II. i. 357; synagogue there, II. ii. 71.
- Arca, Arcae = Caesarea on the Lebanon, I. ii. 201 f.
- Archaeology, biblical literature on, I. i. 13, 14.
- Archelais, village, I. ii. 41, 122; situation of, I. ii. 41.
- Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, I. i. 413, 456, 457 f.
- Archelaus, a later king of Cappadocia, I. ii. 123.
- Archelaus, son of Herod, I. i. 416, 456, 464, 465, II. i. f., 5 f.; reign, I. i. 38–42; \* called also Herod, I. i. 39; high priests under him, II. i. 198; coins, I. i. 39.
- Archelaus, son-in-law of Agrippa I., see Julius Archelaus.
- Archisynagogoi, II. ii. 63–65; in Rome and Italy, II. ii. 251; \* title given to women and children, II. ii. 65; in heathen religious societies, II. ii. 65 (see also: *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* t. viii. 1884, 463 sq.); whether used to designate Christian office-bearers, Addenda in Index vol.
- Archives, Roman library on the capitol, I. i. 90.
- Archons, municipal, e.g. in Tiberias, II. i. 145.
- Archons, Jewish, in Alexandria, II. ii. 245; in Antioch, II. ii. 244; in Berenice, II. ii. 246; in Rome and Italy, II. ii. 249; annual election in September, II. ii. 250.
- Areios, see Areus.
- Areka, see Abba Areka.
- Ἀρίτας*, *Ἀρίθας*, orthography of the name, I. ii. 359.
- Aretas I., prince of the Nabateans, I. ii. 350.
- Aretas II., king of the Nabateans, I. ii. 351.
- Aretas III., B.C. 85–60, I. ii. 352–353; on coins *Φιλίππου*, I. ii. 353;

- conquered Coele Syria, I. i. 182, 303, II. 352; fights against Aristobulus II., I. i. 316-318; submits to Scaurus, I. i. 329, II. 353.
- Aretas IV.** Aeneas, B.C. 9-A.D. 40, I. ii. 5, 13, 19, 22, 25, 30, 33, 89, 356-359; \* literature about, I. ii. 347; title "Rachemammeh," I. ii. 359; inscriptions and coins, I. ii. 359; held Damascus at the time of Paul's flight, I. ii. 354, 357; II. i. 66, 98.
- Areus**, king of Sparta, I. i. 250.
- Argos**, Jews residing there, II. ii. 222.
- Ariarthes**, king of Cappadocia, I. i. 240.
- Aricia**, Jews residing there, II. ii. 238.
- Arimathia**=Ramathaim, I. i. 245 f.
- Aristeas**, epistle on origin of Septuagint, II. iii. 160, 306-312; \* contents, II. iii. 306-308; date of composition, II. iii. 310; used by Fathers of Church, II. iii. 310; MSS. editions and literature, II. iii. 312.
- Aristeas**, historian, II. iii. 197, 208.
- Aristo of Gerasa**, II. i. 29, 119.
- Aristo of Pella**, I. i. 69-72.
- Aristobulus I.**, son of John Hyrcanus, conquered Samaria, I. i. 283; reign, I. i. 291-294; chronology, I. i. 273; called also Judas, I. i. 293.
- Aristobulus II.** (B.C. 69-63), I. i. 310, 311; reign, I. i. 313-325; \* taken prisoner to Rome by Pompey, I. i. 324; later acts and fortunes, I. i. 374; death, I. i. 376; mentioned in psalms of Solomon, II. iii. 19.
- Aristobulus III.**, Asmonean prince and high priest, I. i. 401, 420, 421; II. i. 197.
- Aristobulus**, son of Herod, I. i. 408-415, 454-461.
- Aristobulus**, brother of Agrippa I., I. ii. 101.
- Aristobulus**, son of Herod of Chalcis, king of Lesser Armenia, I. ii. 342, 343, comp. I. ii. 28.
- Aristobulus of Chalcidice**, I. ii. 343.
- Aristobulus**, Jewish philosopher, II. iii. 237-243; \* on the origin of the LXX., II. iii. 160, 309, 310; on the Jewish calendar (date of Passover), I. ii. 371; II. iii. 240 f.; quotes forged verses of Greek poets, II. iii. 295 f.
- Aristocracy**, Jewish, II. ii. 30, 39, 42; constitution of Jewish commonwealth, I. ii. 72. See also Constitution.
- Ariston**, see Aristo.
- Aristotle**, meeting with a Hellenistic Jew in Asia Minor, II. ii. 225; influence on Aristobulus, II. iii. 239, 241; Nicolas of Damascus on Aristotelian, I. i. 58, 62 f.; pseudo-Aristotelian treatises *de plantis* and *περί κόσμου*, I. i. 63, II. 170.
- Arka**, see Arca.
- Armenia**, campaign of Marc Antony, I. i. 342, 422; C. Caesar sent thither, I. i. 354; war of Corbulo, I. i. 368; dynasty of Lesser Armenia, see *Cotys*, *Aristobulus*.
- Armilus**, Antichrist = Romulus, II. ii. 165. See Addenda in Index vol.
- Arrian** on the proselytes, II. ii. 323.
- Arruntius**, I. i. 363.
- Arsaces**, name of Parthian kings, I. i. 269.
- Arsuph**, see Apollonia.
- Art**, plastic in Palestine, II. i. 36; iron art work in park of Herod, I. i. 440.
- Artabanus**, king of Parthia, I. ii. 34.
- Artapanus**, writer, II. iii. 198, 206-208; influence on Josephus, I. i. 85.
- Artavasdes**, king of Armenia, I. i. 422.
- Artaxerxes Ochus**, II. ii. 223.
- Artemidorus**, geographer, II. i. 84.
- Artemidorus**, historian, of Ascalon, II. i. 28.
- Artemio**, leader of Jews in Cyprus, I. ii. 284.
- Artemis**, worship of, in Damascus, II. i. 19; in Gerasa, II. i. 20, 118; in Neapolis, I. ii. 267; in Ptolemais, II. i. 18; in Raphia, II. i. 12.
- Artemisios**, see Months.

Aruch, rabbinical lexicon, II. ii. 23.

Arzareth = *terra alia*, II. i. 170.

As, Roman coin, II. i. 39.

Asaph, family of singers, II. i. 271.

Ascalon, city, II. i. 74-76,\* comp. I. i. 195, 248, 306, 437, II. 54; in the Persian age subject to the Tyrians, II. i. 74; eras from B.C. 104 to 57, II. i. 75; worship, II. i. 13; was Herod's family from it? I. i. 314 f.; Jews residing there, II. i. 76; enmity of Jews and Gentiles, II. ii. 275; calendar, II. i. 72; merchants from Ascalon in Athens and Puteoli, I. i. 314; merchants of, in Delos (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. viii. 1884, p. 128 sq., 133, 488 sq.); coins, II. i. 74, 75, 76; celebrated writers, II. i. 28; games, II. i. 25, 26; wine, II. i. 41.

Asclepios, worship of, in Ascalon, II. i. 13 f.

Asenath, wife of Joseph, II. iii. 151.

Ashdod, see Azotus.

Asia Minor, Jews there, II. ii. 222, 225,\* 258, 263, 270, 273, 276, 282; synagogue of those of Asia in Jerusalem, II. i. 49, ii. 57.

See also districts and cities:

(1) Districts: Asia, Bithynia, Cilicia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Caria, Lycia, Lydia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, Pontus.

(2) Cities: Adramyttium, Apamea, Cnidus, Ephesus, Halicarnassus, Laodicea, Miletus, Myndus, Pergamum, Phaselis, Sardis, Side, Smyrna, Thyatira.

Add to these: inscriptions from Hypaepa, Corycos, Magnesia on Sipylus, Jasos (*Revue des études vivres*, x. 1885, pp. 74-76, and Phocaea (*ibid.* xii. 1886, p. 236 sq.).

Asideans, see Chasidees.

Asinius Pollio, consul in B.C. 40, I. i. 293, II. iii. 205; historical work, I. i. 51 f.; receives sons of Herod into his house, I. i. 456.

Askalon, see Ascalon.

Asmodeus in Tobit, II. iii. 37, 44.

Asmoneans, see Hasmoneans.

Asochis, town, I. i. 296.

Asophon, town, I. i. 296.

Asor, see Hazor.

Asparagus, II. i. 43.

Aspendos, I. i. 180.

Aspis, I. i. 319, 329.

Ass worship ascribed to the Jews, II. ii. 294, iii. 266.

*Assumptio Mosis*, II. iii. 73-83,\* I. ii. 81; contents, II. iii. 74-78; date of composition, II. iii. 78; standpoint, II. iii. 79; use in Christian Church, II. iii. 81 f.; editions and literature, II. iii. 82; Messianic hope, II. ii. 144.

Assyrian = Syrian, II. i. 104.

Astarte, worship in Aelia Capitolina, I. ii. 317; in Anthedon, II. i. 12; in Ascalon, II. i. 13; in Caesarea, II. i. 17; in Gadara, II. i. 20; = Aphrodite, II. i. 13.

*Aster, Claudia, Hierosolymitana captiva*, II. ii. 239.

Astrology invented by Enoch, II. iii. 70; Abraham a teacher of, II. i. 343, iii. 206, 211; in Book of Enoch, II. iii. 58.

Astypalaea, league of friendship with Rome, I. i. 232.

Asveros, corruption of text for Varus, I. ii. 5.

Asylum (right of), *ἀσυλος* as title of Abila, II. i. 105; Diocaesarea, II. i. 140; Dora, II. i. 89; Gadara, II. i. 103; Gaza, II. i. 72; Hippus, II. i. 100; Ptolemais, II. i. 92, 94; Scythopolis, II. i. 112.

Atargatis, worship of, in Ascalon, II. i. 13. Comp. Addenda in Index vol.

*Athanasii Synopsis*, II. iii. 126.

Athens, hegemony over the Phoenician coast, II. i. 88; mint at Gaza in the Persian age, II. i. 68; commercial colony of Athenians at Ake = Ptolemais in the time of Demosthenes, I. i. 195; II. i. 91 (on travels of Athenians to Judea on private business, see Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5); foreign merchants at, I. i. 314; (more

- materials in *Corpus Inscript. Attic.* ii. 3, pp. 218–276; *ibid.* iii. 2, pp. 120–196; oriental religions in, ii. ii. 300; inscription of Sidonian king Straton, ii. i. 84; inscriptions for Herod and his family, i. i. 437, ii. 204, 343; buildings of Herod, i. i. 437; Jews in Athens and Attica generally, ii. ii. 222, 232, 282; Jewish inscription, ii. ii. 232; “those who feared God” in Athens, ii. i. 308.
- Athenaeus, general of Antigonus, i. ii. 349.
- Athene, worship of, in Ascalon, ii. i. 14; Caesarea, ii. i. 17; Damascus, ii. i. 19; the Hauran, ii. i. 23.
- Ἀθυνα Γοζυαία at Kanatha, ii. i. 23.
- Athenio, commander under Cleopatra, i. i. 426.
- Athenobius, officer of Antiochus Sidetes, i. i. 270.
- Athrongs, i. ii. 4.
- Atonement, day of, i. i. 322.
- Attalus II. of Pergamum, i. i. 240.
- Attica, Jews residing there, ii. ii. 222.
- Atticus, governor of Judea, i. ii. 260.
- Audynaïos, see Montha.
- Augusta Caesarea, ii. i. 85.
- Augustamnica, Egyptian province, ii. ii. 280.
- Ἀγγοσθηαῖοι, Jewish communities at Rome, ii. ii. 247.
- Augustus, Σεβαστός, title of Octavianus, i. i. 406; of Tiberius and Livia, i. ii. 338; of Titus (in lifetime of Vespasian), i. ii. 205; *cohors Augusta*, i. ii. 53.
- Augustus, see Octavianus.
- Aumu, the Syrian sun-god, ii. i. 23.
- Auranitis or Hauran, district of country, i. i. 409, 453, ii. 12; pagan worship there, ii. i. 21–23; Greek inscriptions there, i. i. 24; Nabatean inscriptions, i. ii. 13, 347, 356, 360.
- Authorities, relation of Pharisees to the Gentile, i. ii. 79, ii. ii. 17; offerings and prayers for them, i. ii. 76; ii. i. 363, ii. 191.
- Autonomy of cities, ii. i. 64; αὐτό-
- νομος; as title of Abila, ii. i. 105; Capitolias, i. ii. 267; Diocaesarea, ii. i. 140; Dora, ii. i. 89; Gadara, ii. i. 103; Gaza, ii. i. 72; Ptolemais, ii. i. 92.
- Auxiliary troops, see *alae*, *cohortes*.
- Ava, heathen colonists in Samaria, ii. i. 6.
- Avillius, Flaccus, governor of Egypt, persecutor of Jews, i. ii. 91–95; writing of Philo against him, ii. iii. 349–354.
- Aza = Gaza, ii. i. 68.
- Azariah in Book of Daniel, prayer of, ii. iii. 183–187.
- Azariah, Jewish commander in the times of the Maccabees, i. i. 221.
- Azizus, Arabian prince of time of Pompey, i. i. 184.
- Azizus, king of Emesa, i. ii. 176, 197, ii. ii. 308.
- Azotus (Ashdod), city, ii. i. 76,\* comp. i. i. 195, 221, 244, 306, ii. 7; worship there, ii. i. 14; Jews residing there, ii. i. 78; coins, ii. i. 78.

## B

- Baba bathra, Talmudic tract, i. i. 123.
- Baba kamma, Talmudic tract, i. i. 123.
- Baba mezia, Talmudic tract, i. i. 123.
- Babas and his sons, i. i. 431; other men of that name, i. i. 431.
- Babylon, heathen colonists from thence in Samaria, ii. i. 6.
- Babylonia, Jews residing there, ii. ii. 223–225,\* 290; rebellion under Trajan, i. ii. 285; Babylonian Jews settled in Batanea, i. ii. 13, 132, ii. i. 4; Babylonian pap or sauce as food, ii. i. 42; tower building, ii. iii. 210, 278, 282.
- Bacchides, general under Demetrius, i. i. 227, 228, 232, 233, 234, 235, 238.
- Bacchius, Judaeus, i. i. 319.
- Bacchus, see Dionysos.
- Baison, see Beth-sean.
- Bajanites, defeated by Judas Maccabaeus, i. i. 220.
- Balas, see Alexander.

- Balsam, gardens at Jericho, I. i. 423 f.
- Bamidbar rabba, Midrash, I. i. 148.
- Ban, curse, exclusion from the Church, II. ii. 60-62,\* 157.
- Banus, a hermit, I. i. 78.
- Baptism* and ritual washings generally, II. ii. 106-111; the officiating priests, II. i. 278; of proselytes, II. ii. 319-324.
- Baraytha, I. i. 133; de-Rabbi Elieser, I. i. 151.
- Bar-Cochba (Simon), I. ii. 297; reigns 3½ years, I. ii. 311; coins, I. ii. 299, 301; persecutes the Christians, I. i. 300.
- Barcoziba = Bar-Cochba.
- Bargiora, Simon, I. ii. 232.
- Barmizwa, II. ii. 51.
- Barnabas, Epistle of, on temple building in Hadrian's time, I. ii. 290; meaning of the 318 servants of Abraham, II. i. 349; uses the Book of Enoch, II. iii. 70; had read the fourth Book of Ezra, II. iii. 109.
- Bartholomew, Bartimaeus, for analogous cases, see under Ben.
- Baruch:
- (1) The Greek book, II. iii. 188-195; \* contents and sources, II. iii. 189 f.; date of composition, II. iii. 191; dependence on Psalms of Solomon, II. iii. 22, 192; read in synagogues on 10th Gorpaios, II. iii. 193; used in the Christian Church, II. iii. 193 f.; ascribed to Jeremiah, II. iii. 193.
  - (2) Apocalypse, II. iii. 83-93; contents, II. iii. 83-88; date of composition, II. iii. 88-91; relation to fourth Book of Ezra, II. iii. 89; editions and literature, II. iii. 92; Messianic hope, II. ii. 150.
  - (3) Various apocrypha, II. iii. 91 f.
- Barzapharnes, Persian satrap, I. i. 389.
- Bascama, place so named, I. i. 254.
- Basilides, priest on Carmel, I. ii. 323.
- Basilica generally, II. i. 34; *Βασιλική*; *στοά* in the temple, II. i. 35; the great synagogue at Alexandria has form of a, II. ii. 70 f.
- Bassus, see Caecilius and Lucilius Bassus.
- Batanea, district of country, I. i. 409, 453, II. 10,\* 13; colony of Babylonian Jews there, I. ii. 13, 132, II. i. 4; mixed population, II. i. 2, 4; heathen forms of worship, II. i. 21-23.
- Baths, a heathen institution, but permitted to the Jews, II. i. 33; public, visited by Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 201; bath of Aphrodite in Ptolemais, II. i. 18, 53; of Gadara (warm springs), II. i. 100; Callirrhoe, I. i. 463; Livias, II. i. 143; Tiberias, II. i. 143; Levitical, see Washings.
- Bathyra (see also Bathanea), I. ii. 203.
- Beans, Egyptian, II. i. 42; Cilician bean meal, II. i. 42.
- Beasts*, why many regarded as unclean (according to Philo and Aristeas), II. iii. 270; fallen or torn by beasts of prey not to be eaten, II. iii. 313.
- Bechoroth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 124.
- Beer, Median and Egyptian, II. i. 42.
- Beisan, see Bethsean.
- Bekiin, place so named, II. i. 371.
- Bel and the Dragon, addition to Daniel, II. iii. 184-188.
- Bemeselis, place so named, I. i. 302.
- Bemidbar (Bamidbar), I. i. 142.
- Ben Asai (Simon), I. i. 127; II. i. 377.
- Ben Cosiba, see Bar-Cochba.
- Ben Gamla (Jesus, son of Gamaliel), II. i. 201,\* 202, II. 49; I. ii. 190, 228, 229.
- Ben Nannos (Simon), I. i. 127; II. i. 378.
- Ben Sakkai (Jochanan), II. i. 366,\* comp. I. i. 126, 128, II. 275; II. i. 323, 324, 335, 378.
- Ben Soma, II. ii. 82.
- Bench, see Furniture.
- Bene-Barak, place so named, II. i. 375.
- Benedictions of the Jews, see Prayer, Blessings, Grace.

- Berachoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 121.  
 Berea, place so named, I. i. 233.  
 Berenice, city in Cyrenaica, Jewish inscription and constitution of Jews there, II. ii. 246.  
 Berenice, daughter of Costobar and Salome, mother of Agrippa I., I. i. 456, II. 151, 152.  
 Berenice, daughter of Agrippa I., loved by Titus, I. ii. 164, 195–204, 211, 342; inscription at Athens, I. ii. 204.  
 Berenicianus, son of Herod of Chalcis, I. ii. 342.  
 Bereshith rabba, Midrash, I. i. 147.  
 Beröa in Syria, I. i. 182.  
 Berur-Chail, place so named, II. i. 366.  
 Beryllus, secretary to Nero, I. ii. 184.  
 Berytus, Roman colony from B.C. 15, I. i. 460; buildings there of Herod, I. i. 437; of Agrippa I., I. ii. 160; buildings there of Agrippa II., I. ii. 196; merchants at Puteoli, II. ii. 253 f.; linen industry, II. i. 41; games, I. ii. 160, 249, II. i. 24.  
 Beth-ha-Midrash, II. i. 325.  
 Beth-aramphtha (= Livias, Julias), II. i. 141.  
 Beth-basi, I. i. 238.  
 Bethel, I. i. 236, II. 232.  
 Bether (Beth-ther), I. ii. 309 f.  
 Beth-esob, I. ii. 241.  
 Beth-haram (Livias), II. i. 141.  
 Beth-horon, I. i. 214, 229, 236.  
 Bethlehem, grave of Archelaus, I. ii. 42; Solomon's port and aqueduct, I. ii. 84.  
 Beth-leptepha, capital of a toparchy, II. i. 157, 159.  
 Beth-ome, I. i. 302.  
 Beth-phage, priest village, II. i. 230.  
 Beth-ramtha (Livias), II. i. 141.  
 Beth-saida, II. i. 136.  
 Beth-saida=Julias, I. ii. 14, 194; II. i. 135, 136.  
 Beth-sean (Scythopolis), II. i. 110.  
 Beth-ther (Bether), situation, I. ii. 309; siege and conquest in Hadrian's war, I. ii. 310; date of conquest, I. ii. 311 f.  
 Beth-ulia, in the Book of Judith, II. iii. 33.  
 Beth-zachariah, I. i. 223.  
 Beth-zur, I. i. 216, 219, 220, 223, 236, 241.  
 Betylia, see Beth-ulia.  
 Beza, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.  
 Bezetha, suburb of Jerusalem, I. ii. 213, 239.  
 Bibulus, see Calpurnius Bibulus.  
 Bikkurim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.  
 Bilga, one of the courses of the priests, II. i. 219.  
 Birds, miraculous, appear to Israelites in desert, II. iii. 227; if taken from nest, mother to be left, II. iii. 313; I. i. 440.  
 Birkath hamminim, II. ii. 89.  
 Birthday festival, I. ii. 26, 158.  
 Bithynia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 222; cheese from, II. i. 43.  
 Bitther, see Beth-ther.  
 Blessings in the temple (benediction), II. i. 296, II. 80; in the synagogue, II. ii. 80; should be given only in Hebrew, II. i. 10, II. 284.  
 Blisa, future and eternal, II. ii. 181–183; in Philo = return of soul into union with God, II. iii. 380.  
 Blood, Jews forbidden to use, II. ii. 318; in the Book of Jubilees, II. iii. 137; in the Heraclitean Epistles, II. iii. 316.  
 Boeotia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 222.  
 Boethus, grandfather (or father?) of Mariamme, wife of Herod, I. i. 455, II. i. 97.  
 Boethus, high priestly family, II. i. 204; בִּיחֻסִּים, II. ii. 32.  
 Boethus, scholar of Antigonus of Socho, II. ii. 32.  
 Bologna, Jews residing at, II. ii. 242.  
 Books of Old Testament, see Scriptures, Holy.  
 Books, covers and cases, II. ii. 74.  
 Books, heavenly, II. ii. 204.  
 Boraytha, see Baraytha.  
 Bosphorus, Cimmerian, Jews residing there, II. ii. 226.  
 Bostra, capital of province of Arabia, I. ii. 13, 362, II. i. 118;



era, I. ii. 361; *Ἀκτία Δουσάρια* there, II. i. 22.  
 Botrys, city, I. ii. 330.  
 Bread presented as dues to the priests, II. i. 241 f.; of Gentiles unclean, II. i. 53.  
 Brescia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 242.  
 Brutus, M., I. i. 337 f., 385, 387, II. ii. 259.  
 Bubastis, II. ii. 286.  
 Buddhism, influence on the West, II. ii. 215; influence on the Essenes, II. ii. 207, 215.  
 Building and style of building in Palestine, II. i. 34–36; Phœnician and Egyptian, II. i. 36; of Herod, see Herod.  
 Burrus, *praefectus praetorio*, I. ii. 184.  
 Butis=Pella in the Decapolis, II. i. 114.  
 Byblus, buildings of Herod there, I. i. 437; linen industry at, II. i. 41.  
 Byssus, II. i. 276.

## C

Cabbala, original meaning of the word, II. i. 311.  
 Caecilius Bassus, I. i. 336, 337, 385.  
 Caecilius Creticus Silanus, I. i. 358.  
 Caesar, Julius, triumvirate and civil war, I. i. 332, 376, 377; proceedings in Syria, I. i. 335, 377; *Aera Caesariana* in Syria, I. i. 336, 364, 370; II. i. 94; arrangements in Judea, I. i. 378–383; II. i. 169; decrees favourable to Jews outside of Palestine, I. i. 382; II. ii. 257; loved by the Jews, I. i. 383, II. ii. 235; death, I. i. 337, 385.  
 Caesar, Sextus, I. i. 335, 384, 385.  
 Caesar, C., grandson of Augustus, I. i. 354–357.  
 Caesarea (Straton's Tower), II. i. 84–87; \*rebuilt by Herod, I. i. 434, II. i. 85; residence of Roman procurators, I. ii. 48, 265; garrisoned by native troops, I. ii. 51–54; conflict between Jews and

Gentiles over the *ιστοπολιτεία*, I. ii. 181 f., 184 f.; II. i. 86, 148; becomes a Roman colony, I. ii. 265, II. i. 86; religious worship there, II. i. 16; coins, II. i. 85, 86; purple dyeing, II. i. 42; games, I. ii. 163, 248; II. i. 24, 25 f.; Jews residing there, II. i. 86, II. ii. 275, 283; R. Levi heard the Shemah there recited in Greek, II. ii. 284; see also under Straton's Tower.

Caesarea Philippi (Panias, Neronias), II. i. 132–135; \* I. ii. 14, 196; era, II. i. 133; worship, II. i. 21; coins, II. i. 133, 134; games, I. ii. 248; II. i. 25, 28.

Caesarea *ad Libanum* (Arca), I. ii. 202.  
 Caesar, worship of, see Emperor Worship.

Caiaphas, high priest, II. i. 182, 189.

Calabria, Jews residing there, II. ii. 242.

Calendar—

(1) Jewish, I. ii. 363–377; of 1 Maccabees, I. i. 36 ff.; of Josephus, I. ii. 374–377; polemic against lunar year in Book of Jubilees, II. iii. 138; of fasts, see Megillath Taanith; beginning of year in spring and autumn, I. i. 36–46, 465; II. ii. 250; post-biblical feasts, see Feasts.

(2) Syrian and Palmyrene, I. ii. 374, 375; of Gaza, Ascalon, Tyre, and Sidon, II. i. 72; of Tyre, I. ii. 376.

(3) Athenian, I. ii. 366.

(4) Literature on Roman calendar, I. i. 21.

Caligula, period of his reign, I. i. 365; oath of provincials on his accession, I. i. 445 f.; sacrifice and oath of Jews on his accession, I. ii. 90; generosity toward the *reges socci*, I. ii. 127; friendship with Agrippa, I. ii. 152, 153; chronology of last years of his reign, I. ii. 36 f., 97, 98; death, I. ii. 103, 153; demands divine honours, I. ii. 91; persecution of Jews in Alexandria, I. ii. 90–98; in Judea, I. ii. 99; insists upon his statue being placed in the temple at Jerusalem, I. ii. 99;

- writing of Philo about him, II. iii. 349-354.
- Callimachus, verses on the Sabbath, II. iii. 302.
- Callimander, Syrian general, I. i. 283.
- Callirrhoë, place on other side of the Dead Sea, I. i. 463; Callistus, Roman bishop, II. ii. 268.
- Calpurnius, M. Bibulus, governor of Syria, I. i. 333.
- Calpurnius, L. Bibulus, I. i. 343.
- Calpurnius, L. Piso, consul, B.C. 139, I. i. 267.
- Calpurnius, Cn. Piso, governor of Syria in time of Tiberius, I. i. 358; on others of Piso family, see Piso.
- Calvinus, see Domitius.
- Campus Martius, II. ii. 248.
- Canatha, see Kanatha.
- Canata, see Kanata.
- Candlestick, the seven branched in temple, II. i. 281; its use, II. i. 281, 289, 293-295; Corinthian, II. i. 45.
- Canon, Old Testament, II. i. 306-312; wonderful restoration under Ezra, II. iii. 99; attitude of Sadducees toward, II. ii. 38; of Hellenistic Jews, II. iii. 176; of Philo, II. iii. 366; of Josephus, I. i. 107; Book of Baruch used in public worship, II. iii. 192; patristic lists of canon with Apocrypha, II. iii. 125.
- Capernaum=Tell Hum, synagogue there, II. ii. 71.
- Capharsaba, I. i. 303; II. i. 130.
- Capharsalma, I. i. 228.
- Capital punishment could not in times of procurators be carried out by Sanhedrim, II. i. 187-190; whether carried out by the soldiers, I. ii. 61-65.
- Capito, see Herennius Capito.
- Capitol in Rome, preservation of State records there, I. i. 90; payment of the Jewish didrachma tax to temple of Capitoline Jupiter, I. ii. 255; II. i. 251, II. 266.
- Capitolias, city, I. ii. 267, II. i. 106.
- Cappadocia, Jews there (Ariasthes, Archelaus), II. ii. 221, 222.
- Capsa, II. i. 46.
- Capua, Jewish inscription there, II. ii. 242, 250.
- Carcer Mamertinus in Rome, I. ii. 250.
- Cardinal virtues, the four, II. iii. 233, 245, 378.
- Caria, Jews there (Halicarnassus, Cnidus, Myndus), II. ii. 222; add: inscriptions from Jasos, Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 294: Νικήτας Ἰάσονος Ἱεροσολυμίτης.
- Carmel, sanctuary there, I. ii. 223.
- Carraë, city, I. i. 332.
- Carthage, Jews there, II. ii. 232.
- Cassianus, chronologer, II. ii. 205.
- Cassida, the helmet, II. i. 31.
- Cassiodorus on Latin translations of Josephus, I. i. 99; on the imperial census, I. ii. 116.
- Cassius, C. Longinus, under the Emperor Claudius, I. i. 366, II. 167; C. Longinus, companion of Brutus, I. i. 333, 337, 339, 375, 385-388, II. 224.
- Cassius, L., I. i. 339.
- Cassius Dio, see Dio Cassius.
- Castles in Jerusalem, see Acra, Antonia, Palace of Herod.
- Castor, chronicle, I. i. 76.
- Castra Judaeorum in Egypt, II. ii. 287.
- Casuistry, Jewish, see Law Observance, Halacha.
- Catacombs, see Cemeteries.
- Cattle-rearing, gifts of flesh to the priests, II. i. 233, 240; tithing of, II. i. 240.
- Caves at Arbela, I. i. 394; in the Hauran, I. ii. 329; II. i. 4.
- Celsus, philosopher, knows the dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, I. i. 70 f.; uses Book of Enoch, II. iii. 71; charges Christians with forging Sibylline books, II. iii. 290.
- Celsus, a later writer, translates the dialogue of Jason and Papiscus into Latin, I. i. 70.
- Cemeteries, Jewish, in Rome, II. ii. 240; in Venosa, II. ii. 242; inscriptions from, I. i. 31-34.
- Censorinus, see Marcius Censorinus.

- Census, the Roman, I. ii. 105-143; whether an imperial census under Augustus, I. ii. 114-120; of Quirinius in Judea, see Sulpicius.
- Cepheus, worship of, in Joppa, II. i. 15.
- Cerealis (=Sext. Vettulenus Cerialis), I. ii. 233, 236, 258.
- Cestius Gallus, I. i. 368 f., II. 199, 212, 218.
- Ceto=κῆτος, II. i. 15.
- Chabarzaba, see Antipatris.
- Chaber, Chabirim (=Pharisees), II. ii. 8, 22-25.
- Chadasha=Adasa.
- Chadid=Adida.
- Chaeremon, on the Jews, II. ii. 293, iii. 255 f.
- Chagiga, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Chalcis *ad Belum*, I. ii. 330, 343.
- Chalcis on the Lebanon, I. ii. 329, 330, 343; coins and era, I. ii. 344; history of kingdom, I. ii. 325-344; (1) The larger kingdom of Ptolemy Mennäus and Lysanias, I. ii. 329-332; gifted by Antony to Cleopatra, I. i. 402, II. 332; (2) The petty principality of Herod of Chalcis, I. ii. 341-344.
- Chaldean—"the Chaldee"—Abraham, II. iii. 299.
- Challa, Talmudic tract, I. i. 121; the bread presented to the priests, II. i. 241.
- Chanamel, high priest, see Ananel.
- Chananiah, סֵנַן הַכֹּהֵנִים, I. i. 126; II. i. 259, 368.\*
- Chananiah ben Antigonus, I. i. 127.
- Chananiah ben Teradion, II. ii. 44.
- Chananiah, see Ananias.
- Chance, games of, II. i. 36.
- Chants of Palestine, I. i. 19.
- Chanuka = feast of dedication of temple, I. i. 217 f.
- Chanuth, Chanujoth, reported place of meeting of Sanhedrim, II. i. 192.
- Chasidees, I. i. 198, 211,\* 227; II. ii. 21 f.
- Chazor, see Hazor.
- Chebron, see Hebron.
- Cheese, Bithynian, II. i. 43.
- Chelkias, son of Onias IV., II. ii. 279 f.
- Chenephres, king of Egypt, II. iii. 206.
- Children, how far obliged to study the law, II. ii. 48 f.; at what age required to enter on full study of law, II. ii. 49; might read the law in synagogue, II. ii. 79; the title Archisynagogus held by children, II. ii. 65.
- Chisleu, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.
- Chios, buildings of Herod there, I. i. 437.
- Chonjo, see Onias IV.
- Chorazin (=Keraze), synagogue there, II. ii. 71.
- Chrestus=Christus, II. ii. 238.
- Christians, flight of community from Jerusalem to Pella, I. ii. 230; intercourse of a Jewish Christian with R. Elieser, II. i. 372; Jewish prayer against Jewish Christians, II. ii. 88 f.; persecution by Bar-Cochba, I. ii. 300; in Rome, see Flavius Clemens.
- Christology, patristic in *Testamentum XII. Patr.*, II. iii. 118; in Book of Baruch, II. iii. 193.
- Christ, see Jesus Christ.
- Chronicles, Books of, are historical Midrashim, II. i. 340; place in the Canon, II. i. 309; age of the Greek translation, II. iii. 162.
- Chronology, literature on Roman and Biblical, I. i. 20-23; of Seleucidae, I. i. 169-185; of the Asmoneans, I. i. 272 f.; of Herod, I. i. 398, 401-416, 464-467; of the life of Jesus, I. ii. 30-32; see also Era, Calendar, World (duration of); in the Book of Daniel, II. iii. 53 f.; in the Book of Jubilees, II. iii. 135; in Demetrius, II. iii. 200 f.; in Eupolemus, II. iii. 205; in the Books of Maccabees, I. i. 36-46; Josephus, I. i. 108.
- Chrysorrhoas, near Damascus, and near Gerasa, I. ii. 336; II. i. 118.
- Chrysostom Dio, on the Essenes, II. ii. 194.
- Chullin, Talmudic tract, I. i. 124.
- Church officers, see Synagogue.

- Church constitution, see Constitution.
- Cicero, I. i. 114, 330, 331; *Oratio pro Flacco*, II. ii. 235, 261.
- Cicero, son, I. i. 346.
- Cilicia, belongs to Syria in B.C. 3-2, I. i. 352; King Polemon of Cilicia, see Polemon; groats, II. i. 43; haircloth, II. i. 44; Jews residing in, II. ii. 222; Jewish archi-synagogus there, II. ii. 63; synagogue of Cilicians in Jerusalem, II. i. 49, ii. 57.
- Circumcision allowed on Sabbath, II. ii. 103; of crowds of subject peoples by Asmoneans, I. i. 280, 293, 307; adhered to by Herodian princes, I. i. 444, ii. 157, 197; of proselytes, II. ii. 312, 313, 319, 320; whether absolutely necessary, II. ii. 313, 320; prohibited by Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 207; prohibited by Hadrian and again permitted by Antoninus Pius, I. ii. 292, 293, 318, II. ii. 268; heathen abuse and Jewish apology, II. iii. 269; artificial removal of marks (*ἰσχυρισμός*), I. i. 203.
- Circus, see Games.
- Cirta, Jewish inscription at, II. ii. 231.
- Citations from O. T. in the Mishna, by what formula introduced, II. i. 311.
- Cities, Jewish, distinguished from villages, II. i. 154, ii. 68; Hellenistic, in Palestine, history and constitution, II. i. 57-149; \* coins of these and literature about them, I. i. 25-28; worship in, II. i. 11-23; games, II. i. 23-28; famous men, II. i. 28, 29; founding of—(1) by Alexander the Great and the Diadochai, I. i. 195 f.; (2) by Ptolemy Philadelphus, see under his name; (3) by Gabinius, II. i. 62; (4) by Herod the Great and his sons, I. i. 434 f.; II. i. 122-148; (5) by Roman emperors, see Colonies.
- Civitates liberae, foederatae*, II. i. 63, 64.
- Claudia Aster Hierosolymitana captiva*, II. ii. 239.
- Claudius, emperor, period of reign, I. i. 366; accession to the throne, I. ii. 154; rule of freedmen at his court, I. ii. 175; famine in his time, I. ii. 169 f., comp. 142; games in honour of his campaign in Britain, I. ii. 163; Palestinian coins, I. ii. 78, 175; Palestinian cities favoured by him, see *Κλαυδισίς*; toleration edict regarding the Jews issued by, I. ii. 99; II. ii. 236, 266; rescript about the robes of the high priest, I. ii. 168; expulsion of Jews from Rome, II. ii. 236 f.
- Claudius Paternus Clementianus, procurator of Judea, I. ii. 264.
- Clean and unclean according to traditional law, II. ii. 106-111; \* tracts of Mishna treating of this sixth seder, I. i. 125; practice of the Pharisees, II. ii. 20-25; Gentiles as such unclean, II. i. 54, ii. 320; purifying of priests (washing), II. i. 215, 283, iii. 119; what kind of water must be used, II. ii. 109-111; to keep clean Alexandrian Jews live in a separate quarter, II. ii. 228, 229.
- Clearchus, II. ii. 225.
- Clemens, see Flavius Clemens.
- Clemens Alexandrinus on the death of Moses, II. iii. 81; on the time of Moses, II. iii. 259, 260; uses the Sibyllines, II. iii. 289; uses forged verses of Greek poets, II. iii. 295.
- Clementianus, see Claudius Pat. Cl.
- Cleodemus=Malchus, writer, II. iii. 97, 209 f.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III., wife of Ptolemy V., II. i. 60, 67.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy V., wife of her brother Ptolemy VI. Philometor and Ptolemy VII. Physcon, II. ii. 279, 286.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy VI. Philometor, wife of the three Syrian kings, Alexander Balas, Demetrius II., and Antiochus VII. Sidetes, I. i. 180, 242, 244, 281.
- Cleopatra, another daughter of Ptolemy VI., mother of Ptolemy

- VIII. Lathurus, I. i. 284 f., 296–297; II. i. 93, II. 279.
- Cleopatra, the last Egyptian queen, wife of Marc Antony, I. i. 339, 344,\* 401–403,\* 420–428;\* obtains dominion over parts of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Arabia, I. i. 344 f., 402 f., 423, II. 332, 355; II. i. 62; era of Chalcis, I. i. 402; coins in Ascalon, II. i. 75 f.; death, I. i. 341, 428; a granddaughter married to Felix the Procurator, I. ii. 176.
- Cleopatra, wife of Herod, I. i. 456, II. 20.
- Cleopatra, wife of the Procurator Gessius Florus, I. ii. 190.
- Clitae, a tribe in Asia Minor, I. ii. 123.
- Closet in synagogue for keeping rolls, etc., II. ii. 74.
- Clothing, Greek and Roman, used in Palestine, II. i. 43–45; of priests, II. i. 276; of high priest, II. i. 256; I. ii. 76; of priests kept in temple, II. i. 260, 268; white of the Essenes, II. ii. 194, 211; made of linen and woollen mixed is forbidden (except to priests), II. i. 277; I. ii. 71; zizith to be worn on upper, II. ii. 112; of Am-haarez is unclean, II. ii. 6, 24.
- Cluvius Rufus, whether used by Josephus, I. i. 89.
- Cnidus, Jews residing there, II. ii. 222.
- Cochba, see Bar-Cochba.
- Codex de Rossi, 138; this MS. of the Mishna peculiarly serviceable to me is to be found in Parma.
- Coele-Syria, according to Theophrastus, embraces also the Lower Jordan district, I. i. 425; in Ptolemy's time a taxation district along with Judea, Samaria, and Phoenicia, I. i. 190; taken by Antiochus IX. Cyzicenos, I. i. 182; Damascus, capital of (Jos. *Antt.* xiii. 15. 2), II. i. 97; Herod, governor of, I. i. 384, 386; cities reckoned in Coele-Syria: Philoteria on Lake of Gennezaret, I. i. 307; all those of Decapolis: Abila (according to coins), II. i. 105; Dium (according to Steph. Byz.), II. i. 115; Gadara (coins and Jos. *Antt.* xiii. 13. 3), II. i. 103; Gerasa (Steph. Byz.), II. i. 117; Pella (Steph. Byz.), II. i. 114; Philadelphia (coins), II. i. 121; Scythopolis (Steph. Byz. and Jos. *Antt.* xiii. 13. 2), II. i. 110; many writers, like Polybius and Diodorus, reckon in it cities on Philistine coast, e.g. Raphia, II. i. 67; Joppa, II. i. 80.
- Cohortatio ad Graecos*, see Justin.
- Cohortes*, organization generally, I. ii. 49; *peditatae* and *equitatae*, I. ii. 56; *cohors I. Flavia Damascenorum*, I. ii. 354; *Ituraeorum*, I. ii. 341; *Sebastenorum*, I. ii. 52, 53; *coh. Italica* (Acts x. 1), I. ii. 54; *coh. Augusta* (Acts xxvii. 1), I. ii. 53.
- Coins and coinage—
- (1) Numismatic literature :
    - (a) On Seleucid coins, I. i. 23 f.
    - (b) On coins of autonomous cities of Palestine (Phoenician, Greek, Roman), I. i. 24 f.
    - (c) On Jewish coins, I. i. 25–28.
    - (d) On Nabatean coins, I. ii. 345–348.
  - (2) Coins of Alexander the Great at Ascalon, II. i. 75; at Straton's Tower, II. i. 84; at Ace, II. i. 91; at Damascus, II. i. 96; at Scythopolis, II. i. 111; at Philadelphia, II. i. 120.
  - (3) Phoenician coins in Gaza, II. i. 69; Ashdod, II. i. 77; Ace, II. i. 92; Phoenician or Tyrian coinage, II. i. 38–40, 244, 250.
  - (4) Hebrew shekels, I. i. 257 f., II. 379–383; coins of the rebellion (Bar-Cochba), I. ii. 383–392.
  - (5) Palestinian coinage of the Graeco-Roman period, II. i. 38–40; coins have no human figure, I. i. 443, II. 77; right of vassal kings to mint these, I. i. 450.

- (6) Coins of the Jewish princes :  
 John Hyrcanus, I. i. 284 ;  
 Aristobulus I., I. i. 293 ;  
 Alexander Jannäus, I. i.  
 305 ; Alexandra, I. i. 308 ;  
 Antigonus, I. i. 392 ;  
 Herod the Great, I. i.  
 443, 450 ; Philip, I. ii.  
 15 f. ; Herod Antipas, I.  
 ii. 20 f., comp. I. i. 466,  
 ii. 38 ; Archelaus, I. ii.  
 39 ; Agrippa I., I. ii. 155,  
 161 ; Agrippa II., I. ii.  
 191 f., 194, 204 f. ; Herod  
 of Chalcis, I. ii. 343.
- (7) Imperial coins, Palestinian of  
 time of Procurators, I. ii.  
 77, 124 f. ; of Vespasian,  
 Titus, and Domitian cele-  
 brating subjugation of  
 Judea, I. ii. 250, comp. I.  
 ii. 225.
- (8) Dynasty of Chalcis :  
 Ptolemy, I. ii. 325, 331 ;  
 Lysanias, I. ii. 325, 331 ;  
 Zenodorus, I. ii. 325,  
 332 f.
- (9) Nabatean coins :  
 Obodas I., I. ii. 352 ; Aretas  
 III., I. ii. 353 ; Obodas II.,  
 I. ii. 356 ; Aretas IV., I.  
 ii. 358 ; Malchus II., I.  
 ii. 360 ; Rabel, I. ii. 361.
- (10) Coins of cities (Greek and  
 Roman) :  
 Abila (Decapolis), II. i. 205 ;  
 Aelia Capitolina, I. ii. 316 ;  
 Ace, see Ptolemais ; Anthedon,  
 II. i. 73 ; Arca, Arcae, see  
 Caesarea on Lebanon ; Ascalon,  
 II. i. 74, 75, 76 ; Azotus, II. i.  
 77 ; Berytus, I. i. 460 ;  
 Caesarea on Lebanon, I. ii.  
 202 ; Caesarea Panias, II.  
 i. 133, 134 ; Caesarea Stratonis,  
 II. i. 84, 85, 87 ;  
 Capitolias, II. i. 106 ;  
 Chalcis on Lebanon, I. ii.  
 344 ; Damascus, II. i. 96,  
 97 ; Diocaesarea, see Sep-  
 phoris ; Dium, II. i. 116 ;  
 Dora, II. i. 89 ; Emmaus,  
 see Nicopolis ; Esbon, II.  
 i. 130 ; Gaba, II. i. 128 ;  
 Gadara, II. i. 101 ; Gaza,  
 II. i. 68, 71 ; Gerasa, II. i.  
 118 ; Hippus, II. i. 100 ;  
 Joppa, II. i. 82 f. ; Kanata,  
 II. i. 107 ; Kanatha, II.  
 i. 109 ; Neapolis, I. ii.  
 266 ; Nicopolis (Emmaus),  
 I. ii. 253 f. ; Pella, II. i.  
 115 ; Petra, I. ii. 350 ;  
 Philadelphia, II. i. 121 ;  
 Ptolemais, II. i. 90, 91,  
 92, 94 ; Raphia, II. i. 67 ;  
 Sebaste=Samaria, II. i.  
 125, 126 ; Sepphoris=  
 Diocaesarea, II. i. 137,  
 140 ; Scythopolis, II. i.  
 111, 112 ; Tiberias, II. i.  
 144, 146.
- Collegia*, religious, II. ii. 255, 257.
- Colonies, Roman in Palestine and  
 Syria, II. i. 65 ; Berytus (from  
 B.C. 15), I. i. 460 ; Heliopolis (from  
 time of Augustus), I. ii. 340 ; Pto-  
 lemais (since Claudius), II. i. 94 ;  
 Caesarea (since Vespasian), II. i.  
 87 ; Aelia Capitolina (since Had-  
 rian), I. ii. 315, 316 ; Sebaste-  
 Samaria (since Septimius Seve-  
 rus), II. i. 126 ; Caesarea on Leba-  
 non=Arca (since Heliogabelus or  
 earlier), I. ii. 202 ; Damascus  
 (since Alexander Severus), II. i.  
 98 ; Neapolis (since Philip the  
 Arabian), I. ii. 266 ; Gadara  
 (since ?), II. i. 103 ; Gaza (since ?),  
 II. i. 72.
- Colonizations by Herod, I. i. 440, II.  
 13, II. i. 4.
- Commagene, origin of dynasty, I. i.  
 184.
- Condemnation, eternal, II. ii. 181 f.
- Congiararia* of the emperor, I. i. 412 ;  
 of the city communes, II. ii.  
 265.
- Connubium* with Gentiles rejected,  
 II. iii. 268.
- Consilium* of the Roman governors,  
 I. ii. 60.
- Constitution of the Hellenistic cities  
 in Palestine, II. i. 57-149 ; \*  
 Jewish towns and villages, II. i.  
 149-165,\* II. ii. 55 ff. ; I. ii. 72 ;  
 Jewish communities in non-

- Jewish cities and in the Dispersion, II. i. 149, ii. 55, 243–270.
- Constantia, harbour town of Gaza, II. i. 71.
- Consular-fasts, see *Fasti*.
- Consular rank of Roman vassal kings, I. i. 450, ii. 154.
- Conventus juridici*, I. i. 373; II. ii. 168.
- Cooking on Sabbath forbidden, II. ii. 99.
- Coponius, Procurator, I. ii. 79, 81.
- Corbulo, see Domitius.
- Corea, place so called, I. i. 320, ii. 231.
- Corinth, Jews residing there, II. ii. 222; Jewish synagogue there, II. ii. 232, 282; brass and columns of temple of Jerusalem from, II. i. 35; Corinthian candlestick, II. i. 45.
- Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria, I. ii. 361.
- Cornificius, Q., I. i. 337.
- Corvinus, see Messalla.
- Cos, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221, 232, 261; inscription of Herod Antipas there, I. ii. 17.
- Cosiba, see Bar-Cochba.
- Cosmology in Book of Enoch, II. iii. 56; in pseudo-Aristotelian *περὶ κόσμου*, I. i. 63, ii. 170; in pseudo-Philonic *περὶ κόσμου*, II. iii. 359.
- Costobar, husband of Salome, I. i. 405, 431, 456.
- Costobar, relative of Agrippa, I. ii. 189.
- Council, democratic, in Hellenistic communes, II. i. 58; in Gaza, II. i. 70; in Tiberias, II. i. 145; Supreme, in Jerusalem, see Sanhedrim.
- Court of the temple at Jerusalem, II. i. 265, 280–284; I. i. 237; inscription on entrance to inner, II. i. 266.
- Crassus, see Licinius Crassus.
- Creation, Haggadic allegorizing of narrative of, II. i. 342; representation of by Aristobolus, II. iii. 240; by Philo, II. iii. 376; *ex nihilo*, II. iii. 214.
- Crete, Jews residing there (Gortyna), II. ii. 222, 232; Josephus marries a woman of, I. i. 82; Jews said to have had origin from, II. ii. 292.
- Cretictus Silanus, see Caecilias.
- Crimea, Jews residing there, II. ii. 226, 283; Jewish inscriptions there, II. ii. 226.
- Criminal Jurisprudence, see Jurisprudence.
- Crispus, see Marcus Crispus.
- Crucifixions in vast numbers:  
By Alexander Jannäus, I. i. 303;  
Quinctilius Varus, I. ii. 5;  
Ummidius Quadratus, I. ii. 173; Florus, I. ii. 208; Titus, I. ii. 240; crucified taken down and recovered, I. i. 80; of Roman citizens not allowed, II. ii. 278; of Jesus Christ, whether done by soldiers, I. ii. 61; finding of the cross of Christ, I. ii. 308.
- Ctesiphon, I. ii. 285. •
- Culture, Hellenistic, see Hellenism.
- Cumae, the Sibyl there, II. iii. 274.
- Cumanus, see Ventidius Cumanus.
- Cupa, II. i. 46.
- Custom or toll in Palestine, I. ii. 66–71; extent of district, I. ii. 66; farming of, I. ii. 68–70; tariff of Palmyra, I. ii. 67, 70; frauds practised, I. ii. 71.
- Cuspius Fadus, procurator, I. ii. 167.
- Cutheans=Samaritans, II. i. 5.
- Cybele, worship in Ptolemais, II. i. 18.
- Cymbals, II. i. 270.
- Cypros, mother of Herod, I. i. 429.
- Cypros, daughter of Herod, I. i. 455.
- Cypros, wife of Agrippa, I. ii. 151.
- Cypros, castle near Jericho, I. i. 435.
- Cyprus, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221, 222, 232, 283; rebellion under Trajan, I. ii. 284; Jews forbidden to enter the island, I. ii. 284.
- Cyrenaica, Cyrene, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221, 222, 231 f.,\* 244, 261, 273, 290; rebellion under Vespasian, I. ii. 253; rebellion under Trajan, I. ii. 281–285; synagogue of Cyrenians in Jerusalem, II. i. 49, ii. 57.

## D

- Dabaritta, place so named, I. ii. 217.
- Dagon, worship of, in Ashdod, II. i. 14; place (Dok), I. i. 271, 274.
- Daisios, see Montha.
- Dalmatica, II. i. 44.
- Damascus, II. i. 96, 98; \* I. i. 251, 303, 319, 328, 437; under rule of Arabian kings, II. i. 97, 98; I. ii. 352, 357, 360; under Roman rule, I. ii. 354, 357, 361; attached to Decapolis, II. i. 95; I. ii. 354; *Cohors I. Flavia Damascenorum*, I. ii. 354; worship, II. i. 19; date palms grown there, II. i. 42; coins, II. i. 97; Seleucid era, I. i. 44; II. i. 97; games, II. i. 24, 27; Jews residing there, II. i. 98; female proselytes there, II. ii. 308.
- Damocritus, writer on the Jews, I. i. 75; II. ii. 294, 296, iii. 262.
- Daniel, Book of, I. i. 208, II. iii. 49, 54; \* Messianic hope in, II. ii. 137, 138; the seventy weeks, II. iii. 53 f.; the Greek translation, (LXX. and Theodotion), II. iii. 173-175, 186; the additions of the Septuagint, II. iii. 183-188.
- Dareios, corruption of text for Areus, king of Sparta, see Areus.
- Darius, son of Artabanus, I. ii. 34; officer of Agrippa II., I. ii. 210.
- Date palms in Archelais, I. ii. 41; Damascus, II. i. 42; Jericho, I. i. 423, \* II. i. 42; Livias, II. i. 143; Phasaelis, II. i. 132; *Nicolaus palmula*, II. i. 42.
- David, his history set forth by Eupolemus, II. iii. 203; his sepulchre, I. i. 276; tower in Jerusalem, I. i. 433, ii. 247; his family existing in first century after Christ, I. ii. 279; II. i. 252; the Messiah, son of, II. ii. 159.
- Death, intermediate state between death and resurrection, II. ii. 180.
- Debarim rabbi*, Midrash, I. i. 148.
- Debt, remission during sabbatical year abolished by Hillel, II. i. 362.
- Decalogue, division and explanation by Philo, II. iii. 342-345.
- Decapolis, II. i. 94, 121; \* founded by Pompey, I. i. 323; worship, II. i. 18-21; \* Pompeian era, see Abila, Dium, Gadara, Hippus, Kaneta, Kanatha, Pella, Philadelphia, Scythopolis; also, Era.
- Decemprini*, see Dekaprotai.
- Decidius Saxa, I. i. 339-341.
- Dekaprotai in the Hellenistic cities, II. i. 145; in Jerusalem, II. i. 179.
- Dellius, friend of Antony, writes a work on his Parthian campaign, I. i. 53.
- Delos, the altar there adorned by Antiochus Epiphanes with statues, I. i. 201; inscription of Antiochus VIII. Grypos, I. i. 185; inscription of Herod Antipas, I. ii. 18; Tyrian merchants there, II. ii. 253; Jews residing there, II. ii. 222, 232; the Jews are Roman citizens, II. ii. 277.
- Delta=the fourth city district of Alexandria, II. ii. 230.
- Demai, Talmudic tract, I. i. 121.
- Demetrius I. Soter, period of reign, I. i. 174; ascended the throne, I. i. 226; relations with the Jews, I. i. 227-242; death, I. i. 242.
- Demetrius II. Nicator, period of reign, I. i. 176-179; rises against Alexander Balas, and is made king, I. i. 243 f.; opposed by Trypho, I. i. 246 f.; his Parthian imprisonment, I. i. 269; release from imprisonment, I. i. 279; death, I. i. 281; relations with the Jews, I. i. 243-247, 250, 255-261, 279; under him, not under Demetrius I., the Jews were quite independent, I. i. 256.
- Demetrius III. Eucarus, period of his reign, I. i. 182; war against Alexander Jannäus, I. i. 302.
- Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus, fights against the Nabateans, I. ii. 349; destroys Samaria, II. i. 124.
- Demetrius Phalereus, II. iii. 160, 307.
- Demetrius, Jewish - Hellenistic writer, II. iii. 197, 200-202; his influence upon Josephus, I. i. 85.
- Demetrius, tyrant of Gamala, II. i. 60.



Demetrius, alabarch in Alexandria, II. ii. 280.  
 Democratic constitution of Hellenistic towns, II. i. 58.  
 Demon, according to doctrine of Philo, II. iii. 372; possession by, see Magic.  
 Denarius, Roman, in Palestine, II. i. 39.  
 Deposits in temple, II. i. 260.  
 Derek erez rabba, Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.  
 Derek erez suta, Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.  
 Derceto, see Atargatis.  
*Descriptio totius orbis*, II. i. 25, 41.  
 Dialect, Galilean, see Galilee.  
 Diana, see Artemis.  
 Diaspora, see Dispersion.  
 Didius, Q., I. i. 345, 427.  
 Didrachmae tax, I. ii. 109, 255; II. i. 41, 251, II. 266, 267, 290.  
 Dikaearchia, see Puteoli.  
 Dill, subject to tithes, II. i. 239.  
 Dio Cassius, life and works, I. i. 113 f.; on the Jews in Rome, II. ii. 237.  
 Dio Chrysostom on the Essenes, II. ii. 194.  
 Diocaesarea, see Sepphoris.  
 Diocles, an Arabian, I. ii. 351.  
 Diocletian in the Jerusalem Talmud, I. i. 134.  
*Diocletiani edictum de pretiis rerum*, II. i. 41.  
 Diodorus, son of Hercules, II. iii. 210.  
 Diodorus Siculus, life and works, I. i. 111 f.; uses Posidonius, I. i. 49; on the Jews, II. iii. 262, 305.  
 Diodotus Trypho, period of reign, I. i. 176; sets up Antiochus VI. as pretender, I. i. 246 f.; murders Antiochus and makes himself king, I. i. 256; relations to the Jews, I. i. 246-261; defeat by Antiochus Sidetus, and death, I. i. 269.  
 Diogenes' Epistles, II. iii. 387.  
 Dionysos (Bacchus) worship at Aelia Capitolina, I. ii. 317; at Caesarea, II. i. 17; at Damascus, II. i. 19; at Scythopolis, II. i. 19; in the Hauran, II. i. 22; ancestral god

of the Ptolemies, II. i. 17; corresponds to Arabian Dusares, II. i. 22; Scythopolis founded by him, II. i. 111; said to be worshipped by the Jews, II. ii. 293.  
*Διαβόλαια* in Jerusalem in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 208; II. i. 24.  
 Dios, see Montha.  
 Dioscuri on coins of Aelia, I. ii. 317.  
 Diospolis, see Lydda.  
 Diphilus, writer of Comedies, forged verses ascribed to, II. iii. 301.  
*Dipondius*, see *Dupondius*.  
 Dium, city, I. i. 196, 304, 320, 323; II. i. 115; \* belonging to Decapolis, II. i. 95; coins and era, II. i. 115.  
 Dispersion, Jewish, II. ii. 219-327:  
 (1) Extension, II. ii. 220-242; in lands of Euphrates, II. ii. 223-225; Syria, II. ii. 225; Asia Minor, II. ii. 226; Egypt, II. ii. 226-230; Cyrenaica, II. ii. 230, 231; Greece, II. ii. 232; Rome and Italy, II. ii. 232-242.  
 (2) Constitution of Jewish communities, II. ii. 243-270.  
 (a) Their internal organization, II. ii. 243-252.  
 (b) Their political position, II. ii. 252-270.  
 (3) Their equality in regard to the rights of citizenship, II. ii. 270-281.  
 (4) Their religious life, II. ii. 281-291; their payment of imposts, II. i. 247, II. 260 f., 269, 290 f., comp. I. ii. 272, 277.  
 (5) The Proselytes, see under that name.  
 Gathering of the dispersed into the Holy Land on the arrival of the days of the Messiah, II. ii. 169 f.  
 Divorcement Bill might be written in Greek, II. i. 50.  
 Djaulan, I. ii. 12.  
 D'mër, Nabatean inscription there, I. ii. 360.  
 Dogmatic, see Angels, Bliss, Creation, Haggada, Immortality, Intermediate State, Messiah, Messianic Hope, Pre-existence, Psychology, Providence, World, etc.

Dok, fortress, I. i. 271, 274.  
 Dolabella, I. i. 337.  
 Domitian, Emperor, relations with the Jews, I. ii. 279, 280; II. ii. 267; coins celebrating victory over the Jews, I. ii. 249, comp. 225.  
 Domitilla, wife of Flavius Clemens, II. ii. 309.  
 Domitilla, niece of Flavius Clemens, II. ii. 309.  
 Domitius Calvinus, consul in B.C. 40, II. iii. 205; I. i. 393.  
 Domitius Corbulo, governor of Syria, I. i. 368.  
 Doorkeepers in the temple, II. i. 226, 265-268.  
 Dora, city, I. i. 196, 306, 323, II. 157; II. i. 87-90; \* perhaps tributary to Athenians in 5th century B.C., II. i. 88; in Persian age subject to Sidonians, II. i. 88 f.; worship there, II. i. 17; coins and era, II. i. 88; Jewish synagogue there, II. i. 90, II. 283.  
 Doris, wife of Herod, I. i. 397, 455.  
 Dorotheus of Ascalon, grammarian, II. i. 28.  
 Dorum, Dorus, see Dora.  
 Dosa ben Archinos (Harkinas), I. i. 126; II. i. 373.  
 Dositheus, Jewish general of Ptolemy VI. Philometer, II. ii. 279.  
 Dosthai, R., II. i. 325.  
 Doves held sacred in Ascalon, II. i. 14; said to be worshipped by Samaritans, II. i. 8; wild, tamed by Herod, I. i. 440.  
 Drama of Hellenistic Jews, II. iii. 225-228.  
 Dreams, Philo's treatise on, II. iii. 337.  
 Drinks, see Beer, Wine.  
 Drusilla, sister of Caligula, I. ii. 95.  
 Drusilla, daughter of Agrippa I., I. ii. 157, 165, 176, 181.  
 Drusus the elder, I. ii. 151.  
 Drusus the younger, I. ii. 151.  
*Dupondius*, Roman coin, II. i. 39.  
 Dura, see Dora.  
 Durmius, see Ummidius Quadratus.  
 Dusares, Arabian deity, II. i. 22.  
 Dystros, see Montha.

## E

Earthquakes in Palestine, I. i. 403, 426.  
 Easter, see Passover.  
 Eating with Gentiles forbidden, II. i. 54 f.  
 Ebel Rabbathi, Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.  
 Ecclesiastes, see Koheleth.  
 Ecclesiasticus (Jesus Sirach), II. iii. 23-30.  
 Echa Rabbathi, I. i. 148.  
 Ecstasy according to Philo, II. iii. 380.  
 Eden, see Paradise.  
 Edictum Diocletiani, II. i. 41.  
 Edom = Rome, II. iii. 99.  
 Edomites, see Idumeans.  
 Edrei, see Adraa.  
 Education among the Jews, II. ii. 46-52.  
 Edujoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 123.  
 Egnatius? (Agnitos), governor of Judea, I. ii. 264.  
 Egypt has  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million inhabitants, I. ii. 110; governors of: Aelius Gallus, I. i. 407 f.; Petronius, I. i. 408; Avillius Flaccus, I. ii. 91 f.; Macro only nominated, I. ii. 95; Tiberius Alexander, I. ii. 170; Rutilius Lupus, I. ii. 282; Marcus Turbo, I. ii. 282; Rammius Martialis, I. ii. 282 f.  
 Egyptian worship in the West, II. ii. 300; architecture, II. i. 36; Zythos, II. i. 42; fish, mustard, pumpkins, beans, lint, II. i. 42; furniture (baskets, cordage, etc.), II. i. 45; Jews, II. ii. 226-230; persecution under Caligula, I. ii. 90-99; rebellion under Vespasian, I. ii. 212, 253; rebellion under Trajan, I. ii. 281-284; spreads to Upper Egypt (Thebaid), I. ii. 284, comp. Alexandria, Arabarcha, Leontopolis, Ptolemy VI.  
 Egyptian, revolt of an, in time of Felix, I. ii. 180.  
 Ekdippa, I. ii. 298.  
 Ekron, I. i. 244.  
 Elasa, place so called, I. i. 233.  
 Eldad and Modad, apocryphal writing, II. iii. 129.

- Elders in Jewish cities, II. i. 150; in Jerusalem, II. i. 165 f.; the Seventy (71-72), II. i. 174 f., 186, 372; see also Gerusia, Sanhedrim, Constitution; of the priests, II. i. 221; of synagogues and their functions, II. ii. 58 f., 60 f.;  $\eta\eta\eta$  as title of Hillel, Shammai, Gamaliel, II. i. 360, 361, 363 f.; Rabban Gamaliel, and the Elders, II. i. 369;  $\tau\omega\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\tau\tau\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , preaches in synagogue, II. ii. 79;  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$ , tell Philo the legends of Moses, II. iii. 365;  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , as official title among the Jews only occurs in very late times; *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 9897; *Revue des études juives* x. 1885, p. 76; Loening, *Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, 1888, p. 68.
- Eleasar. (1) Priests:  
 Eleasar, high priest in time of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, according to the Epistle of Aristeas, I. i. 188, II. iii. 160, 307.  
 Eleasar, son of Boethus, high priest about B.C. 4, II. i. 198.  
 Eleasar, son of Ananos, high priest about A.D. 16, II. i. 198.  
 Eleasar, son of high priest Ananias, captain of temple, I. ii. 189, 210, 214.  
 Eleasar, priest in time of Bar Cochba, I. ii. 299; coins, I. ii. 384.
- (2) Rabbis:  
 Eleasar ben Arach, II. i. 367, ii. 44.  
 Eleasar ben Asariah, I. i. 126; II. i. 370, 372.  
 Eleasar ben Zadok, I. i. 126; II. i. 373.  
 Eleasar ben Modein, I. ii. 299, 311.
- (3) Others:  
 Eleasar, in his ninetieth year martyr under Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 209 f.  
 Eleasar, brother of Judas Maccabaeus, I. i. 209, 223.  
 Eleasar, a Pharisee in time of John Hyrcanus, I. i. 288.  
 Eleasar, a Zealot, about A.D. 50, I. ii. 172, 177.  
 Eleasar, son of Simon, about A.D. 66-70, I. ii. 235, 237.  
 Eleasar in Machärus, I. ii. 251.
- Eleasar, son of Jairi, in Masada, I. ii. 81, 252.
- Eleutheropolis, city, I. ii. 268.
- Elias, legends about him, II. i. 345; writing about him ascribed to Eupolemus, II. iii. 203; his worship substituted for that of Helios, II. i. 23; as precursor of Messiah, II. ii. 156; Apocalypse of, II. iii. 129-133.
- Elias Levita on the Great Synagogue, II. i. 354; on casting out of the synagogue, II. ii. 60.
- Elieser ben Hyrcanus, R., I. i. 126; II. i. 367, 370, 371, ii. 320; relations with King Agrippa II., I. ii. 197, 206; Pirke derabbi Elieser, I. i. 151.
- Elieser ben Jacob, R., I. i. 126; II. i. 368.\*
- Elim, halting place of Israelites, II. iii. 227.
- Elionaios, son of Kantheras, high priest, II. i. 197, 199.
- Elul, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.
- Elymais, I. i. 222.
- Embassies, Jewish, to Rome, see Romans.
- Emesa, dynasty, see Sampsigeram, Azizus, Soemus.
- Emmatha, near Gadara, II. i. 101.
- Emmaus (later Nicopolis), I. i. 215, 236; inhabitants sold as slaves by Cassius, I. i. 386; by order of Antony again set free, I. i. 388; capital of a toparchy, II. i. 157, 159; laid siege to by Vespasian, I. ii. 231; whether the same as Vespasian's military colony? I. ii. 253 f.; from what time known as Nicopolis, I. ii. 253 f.; coins and era, I. ii. 253 f.
- Emmaus, near Jerusalem, I. ii. 253 f.
- Emmaus, near Tiberias, I. ii. 224; II. i. 148.
- Emperor, oath of provincials to, I. i. 445 f., ii. 72; images of, on Roman standards, I. ii. 77, 83; worship, II. i. 15 f.,\* ii. 265, iii. 267; I. ii. 91 f., 99; temple ( $\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\iota\alpha$ ) in Palestine, II. i. 16, 21; I. i. 434; offerings for emperor in temple of Jerusalem, II. i. 302 f., iii. 191, 267; I. ii. 76, 90, 210;

- prayer for emperor also there, I. ii. 77; see Authorities; Jews at court of the, in Rome, II. ii. 238 f.
- En Jacob or En Israel, I. i. 135.
- Engaddi, or Engedi, capital of a toparchy, II. i. 157, 159.
- Eniachim, priestly tribe, II. i. 221.
- Enoch: (1) Legends about him, II. i. 342, III. 70; inventor of astrology, II. iii. 58, 70, 211; return, II. ii. 158; (2) Book of, II. iii. 54-73; transmission of text, II. iii. 56; contents, II. iii. 56-59; history of criticism, II. iii. 60; original document, II. iii. 61-66; the allegories, II. iii. 66-69; the Noachean portions, II. iii. 69, 70; its use in Jewish literature, II. iii. 70; by the Church fathers, II. iii. 70 f.; literature on the book, II. iii. 72 f.; Messianic hope, II. ii. 141, 144; astronomical views, I. ii. 367-369.
- Ensigns, Roman military standards, I. ii. 78 f.
- Enthusiasm, prophetic, see Prophets.
- Epaphroditus, patron of Josephus, I. i. 84, 94.
- Ephesus, Jews residing there, II. ii. 259; Jews enjoy rights of citizens there, II. ii. 273; their Roman citizenship, II. ii. 277; their synagogue, II. ii. 282.
- Ephraim, city, its situation, I. i. 246; till B.C. 145 belonging to Samaria, afterwards to Judea, I. i. 190, 191, 245; besieged by Vespasian, I. ii. 232 f.
- Ephron = Gephros, I. i. 220 f.
- Epic poetry of the Hellenistic Jews, II. iii. 222.
- Epigraphics = Inscriptions.
- Epikrates, Syrian general, I. i. 283.
- Epiphanes, son of Antiochus of Commagene, I. ii. 157.
- Epiphanios on the *θευτερώσεις*; of the Jews, I. i. 130; on the Jewish prayer against the Christians, II. ii. 88 f.; on the Ossaeans and Sampsaecans, II. ii. 213.
- Epiphanios, supposed translator of Josephus, I. i. 99.
- Epistles, pseudonymous, II. iii. 316, 317.
- Epistolographi*, II. iii. 316.
- Equestrian Order, Roman Governor, see Procurator.
- Equestrian order conferred on Jews, II. ii. 281.
- Eras. (1) Of a general character: Olympiad era, B.C. 776, I. ii. 393 ff. Roman era, B.C. 753, I. ii. 393 ff. Of Alexander the Great, II. i. 91. Seleucid era, B.C. 312, I. ii. 393 ff.; in the Books of Maccabees, I. i. 36-46; in Damascus, I. i. 44; II. i. 97. Of Simon the Maccabee, B.C. 142, I. i. 257-260. Pompeian era, B.C. 64-42, see Abila, Dium, Dora, Gadara, Gaza, Hippus, Kanata, Kanatha, Pella, Philadelphia, Scythopolis. Of Gabinius, B.C. 57, see Ascalon, Raphia. *Caesariana*, B.C. 49, I. i. 326, 364, 370, II. i. 94. Spanish, B.C. 38, I. ii. 116. Actian, B.C. 31, I. ii. 80. Of Augustus, B.C. 27, I. ii. 77 f., 125. Of the birth of Christ, literature in it, I. i. 22 f. Of the province of Arabia, I. ii. 361. Of Hadrian in Gaza, A.D. 129-130, I. ii. 295; II. i. 72. (2) Eras of cities: Abila in Decapolis, II. i. 105. Ascalon, II. i. 75. Bostra, I. ii. 361. Caesarea Philippi, II. i. 133. Capitolas, I. ii. 267. Chalcis on Lebanon, I. ii. 344. Damascus, I. i. 44; II. i. 97. Dium, II. i. 116. Dora, II. i. 89. Gaba, II. i. 128. Gadara, II. i. 101 f. Gaza, II. i. 71, 72. Hippus, II. i. 100. Kanata, II. i. 107. Kanatha, II. i. 109. Neapolis, I. ii. 266. Nicopolis (Emmaus), I. ii. 253 f.

- Pella, II. i. 115.  
 Petra, I. ii. 361.  
 Philadelphia, II. i. 120.  
 Ptolemeis, II. i. 91, 94.  
 Raphia, II. i. 67.  
 Samaria (Sebaste), I. i. 405; II. i. 125.  
 Sidon, II. i. 60.  
 Scythopolis, II. i. 112.  
 Tiberias, II. i. 144.  
 Tyre, II. i. 60, 61.  
 Erotimus, king of the Arabians, I. ii. 351.  
 Erubh, law and practice of, II. ii. 7, 37, 120.  
 Erubin, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.  
 Erythraea, the Sibyl there, II. iii. 273.  
 Esbon, Esbus, city, I. i. 437; II. i. 128-130; coins, II. i. 130.  
 Eschatology, Jewish, see Messianic Hope.  
 Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, holds from Persian king the dominion over Joppa and Dora, II. i. 80, 88.  
 Esdraelon, Plain of, I. ii. 89.  
 Esebon, see Esbon.  
 Esebonitis, II. i. 130.  
 Esra, textual error for Gerasa, I. i. 304; II. i. 117, ii. 207.  
 Essenes, II. ii. 188-218; \* name and antiquity, II. ii. 190, 191; authorities regarding them, II. ii. 192.  
 (1) The facts, II. ii. 192-205.  
 (a) Organization of the community, II. ii. 192-198.  
     Spread and locality, II. ii. 192-194.  
     President, II. ii. 194.  
     Test for admission, II. ii. 194.  
     Community of goods, II. ii. 195.  
     Occupation, II. ii. 197, 198.  
 (b) Ethics, manners, and customs, II. ii. 198-205.  
     Simplicity and abstinence, II. ii. 198.  
     Slavery renounced, II. ii. 198.  
     Oaths refused, II. ii. 198 f.  
     Anointing with oil forbidden, II. ii. 199.  
     Baths and washings enjoined, II. ii. 199.  
     White clothing, II. ii. 199.  
     Modesty, II. ii. 199 f.  
     Condemn marriage, II. ii. 200.  
     Reject animal sacrifices, II. ii. 200.  
     Offered incense, II. ii. 200.  
     Had common meals, II. ii. 200.  
     Used flesh and wine, II. ii. 200 f.  
 (c) Theology and philosophy, II. ii. 202-205.  
     Absolute belief in providence, II. ii. 202.  
     Strict observance of the law, II. ii. 202.  
     Strict keeping of Sabbath, II. ii. 203.  
     Attitude toward priesthood, II. ii. 203.  
     Invocation of sun, II. ii. 203, 213.  
     Psychology and doctrine of immortality, II. ii. 205, 214.  
 (2) Nature and origin, II. ii. 205-218.  
     Various descriptions, II. ii. 205-208.  
     Ritschl, Lucius, Hilgenfeld, II. ii. 208.  
     Whether purely Jewish? II. ii. 209-212.  
     Foreign elements, II. ii. 212-214.  
     Buddhism and Parseeism, II. ii. 215.  
     Pythagoreanism, II. ii. 216-218.  
 Esther, Greek rendering, with additions, II. iii. 181-183; Midrash Esther, I. i. 149; read at Purim feast in month Adar, I. ii. 370.  
 Etam, aqueduct thence to Jerusalem, I. ii. 85.  
 Ethan, family of singers, II. i. 271.  
 Ethicus, see Aethicus.  
 Ethics, rabbinical, II. ii. 90 ff.; bright points, II. ii. 124; laxity, II. ii. 122-125; see Foreigners (hatred of), Neighbour, Lie, the necessary; of Jesus Sirach, II. iii. 24 ff.; of the Pirke Aboth, II. iii.

31; of the *Testam. XII. Patr.*, II. iii. 116; of Phocylides, II. iii. 313; of Philo, II. iii. 338 ff., 378-380; of the Essenes, II. ii. 198-205.

Ethnarch, as title of Jewish high priest, I. i. 265, 378, 379; of Archelaus, I. ii. 7, 39; Jewish in Palestine down to time of Origen, I. ii. 276; II. i. 173; of Jews in Alexandria, II. ii. 244; of Aretas in Damascus, I. ii. 347, 357; II. i. 66, 98.

Eubius of Ascalon, philosopher, II. i. 28.

Euboea, Jews residing there, II. ii. 222.

Eulogius on the Samaritans, II. ii. 230.

Eupolemus, Jewish - Hellenistic writer, II. iii. 198, 203-206; probably same as is referred to in First Book of Maccabees, I. i. 197, 231; II. iii. 204.

Euripides quoted by Philo, II. iii. 364; forged verses, II. iii. 298, 301.

Eurycles of Lacedaemon at court of Herod, I. i. 442, 459.

Eusebius' Chronicle, I. i. 171; II. i. 144.

Eutychus, freedman, I. i. 361, II. 153.

Evil, whether the creation of God, II. ii. 15 f.

Exclusiveness of Jews, II. iii. 268.

Exegesis, see Haggada, Halacha, Midrash.

Exile (Dispersion, Tribes, the ten), II. ii. 223-225.

Exodus, see Moses.

Expiation of sin of people by martyr death of righteous, II. iii. 245.

Ezekiel's vision, chap. i., II. i. 347.

Ezekiel, tragic poet, II. iii. 197, 225-228.

Ezra miraculously restores the Holy Scriptures, II. iii. 109.

Ezra, Greek rendering of the canonical book, II. iii. 177-181.

Ezra iv., Book, II. iii. 93-114; contents, II. iii. 94-99; date of composition, II. iii. 99-108; vision of the eagle, II. iii. 100 ff.; relation to the Apocalypse of Baruch, II. iii. 89; references to

the use of the book in the Christian Church, II. iii. 109; texts and their editions, II. iii. 110-113; literature, II. iii. 113 f.; Messianic Hope, II. ii. 151 f.

Ezra, various apocryphal books of, II. iii. 110.

## F

Fables, heathen, about the Jews, II. ii. 292-297, III. 249-270.

Fadus, see Cuspius Fadus.

Falco, see Pompeius Falco.

Fall of Adam and its consequences, II. iii. 86, 96.

Famine under Herod, I. i. 406, 448; under Claudius, I. ii. 169, comp. 142; during siege of Titus, I. ii. 241.

Fasts among the Jews, II. ii. 118; public, how celebrated, II. ii. 71; trumpet blowing at, II. ii. 75; of "those who feared God," II. ii. 306.

Fast-day, the great = the day of Atonement, I. i. 322, 398; the Sabbath wrongly regarded by the Romans as a, I. i. 322, 323, 398.

Fast Calendar, see Megillath Taanith.

Fast, opinion of Tacitus on Jewish, II. ii. 294.

*Fasti consulares*, literature about, I. i. 21.

Father, as title (see Abba, *pater*), II. i. 316.

Feasts, journeys of Jews to the, II. ii. 51, 290; number of pilgrims going to the, II. ii. 290.

Feasts, post-biblical:

- (1) Dedication of temple, I. i. 217.
- (2) Nicanor's day, I. i. 230.
- (3) Of wood carrying, II. i. 252.
- (4) Special feasts of the Alexandrians:

(a) Commemorating deliverance from the elephants, II. ii. 257, III. 217.

(b) Celebrating the Greek translation of the Pentateuch (Philo, *Vita Mosi*, lib. II. c. 7, ed. Mangey, II.

- 140 sq., should have been referred to at, II. iii. 311).
- (5) Other days of rejoicing, see Megillath Taanith.
- Felix, procurator of Judea, I. ii. 174–184; name, I. ii. 175; his three wives, I. ii. 176; parties in his time, I. ii. 177–181; date of his recall, I. ii. 182.
- Felt hats and socks, II. i. 44.
- Festus, see Porcius Festus.
- Finances, administration of, in Roman provinces, I. ii. 66–71.
- Fire on the altar always burning, II. i. 283; kindling on Sabbath forbidden, II. ii. 99 f.
- First-born of beasts, II. i. 231, 242–244; of man, II. i. 242 f.
- First-fruits given to the priests, II. i. 231, 237; carried in basket by Agrippa to the temple, I. ii. 156.
- Fiscus Caesaris*, I. ii. 66.
- Fiscus Judaicus*, II. i. 251, ii. 266, 267.
- Fish, cured, Egyptian, Spanish, etc. (Kolias), II. i. 42, 43.
- Flaccus, persecutor of the Jews, see Avillius.
- Flavia, Antonina, Jewess or proselyte in Rome, II. ii. 308.
- Flavia Augusta Caesarea, see Caesarea.
- Flavia Joppa, II. i. 82.
- Flavia Neapolis, see Neapolis.
- Flavius Clemens, II. ii. 239, 309 f.
- Flavius Silva, I. ii. 251, 259.
- Flax, see Linen.
- Fleet, the Syrian, in time of Hadrian, I. ii. 304.
- Flesh, gifts of, to priests, II. i. 240, i. ii. 272; use of, by the Essenes, II. ii. 201; see also Blood (forbidden), Swine, Beasts (unclean).
- Florilegia, Greek, II. iii. 326.
- Florus, see Gesius Florus.
- Food, foreign, in Palestine, II. i. 42 f.; see washing of hands.
- Foreigners (strangers) residing in Palestine, legislation about them, II. ii. 315–319; Jewish hatred of, II. ii. 296, iii. 253, 268 f.
- Forged verses of classic writers, II. iii. 294–302.
- Fortunatus, I. ii. 36.
- Fountains in the park of Herod, I. i. 440.
- Fox, symbol of slyness, I. ii. 18.
- Frankenberg, the so-called Jewish fortress, I. i. 436.
- Freedmen, their civil rights and status, II. ii. 276.
- Freedom, human, see Providence.
- Frugi, see Tittius Frugi.
- Fruit trees, gifts of produce to priests, II. i. 237.
- Fulvia, II. ii. 235.
- Furniture, purifying it from levitical uncleanness, II. ii. 107–109; of heathens unclean, II. i. 54; Greek and Roman, in Palestine, II. i. 45, 46.

## G

- Gaba, fortress, I. i. 437; II. i. 127 f.; coins and era, II. i. 128.
- Gabael in the Book of Tobit, II. iii. 38.
- Gabao, see Gibeon.
- Gabara, II. i. 103; one of the largest cities in Galilee, II. i. 139.
- Gabinius, general of Pompey, I. i. 320; proconsul of Syria, I. i. 330 f., 372–375; campaign against the Nabateans, I. ii. 355; divides Judea into five districts, I. i. 372; II. i. 168; restorer of heathen cities of Palestine, II. i. 62; era of Gabinius in Raphia and Ascalon, II. i. 67, 75; *Gabinius* as title of citizens of Kanatha and Samaria, II. i. 109, 124.
- Gad = Tyche, II. i. 23.
- Gadara, I. i. 196, 297, 301, 323, 404, 428, II. 6, 231; II. i. 100–104; \* belonged to Decapolis, II. i. 95; era, II. i. 101; worship, II. i. 20; coins, II. i. 101; writers belonging to it, II. i. 29, 103 f.; games and theatre, II. i. 27; Jews residing there, II. i. 102.
- Gadara, see Gazara.
- Galaadites, Galaaditis, see Gilead.
- Galasa = Gerasa, II. i. 95, 117 f.
- Galatia, the tetrarchs of, I. ii. 7 f.; in regard to Jews residing there

- reference should have been made to Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 6. 2; *Corpus. Inscript. Graec.* n. 4129; *Revue des études juives*, x. 1885, p. 97.
- Galba, emperor, i. i. 370, ii. 232, 376.
- Galilee, not politically united to Judea in times of Maccabees, i. i. 191; population mainly non-Jewish, i. i. 192; campaign of Simon there, i. i. 220; Judaizing by Aristobulus I., i. i. 293 f.; Herod, governor of, i. i. 383; Tyre a neighbouring state, i. i. 387; extent and population in time of Josephus, ii. i. 3-5; constitution, ii. i. 156; Sepphoris, capital, ii. i. 138; Tiberias, capital, ii. i. 146; Josephus organizes the constitution after the pattern of that of Judea, i. ii. 215; the three largest cities are Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gabara, ii. i. 139; dialect of, ii. i. 10; system of weights different from that of Judea, ii. i. 4, Addenda in Index vol.; linen industry, ii. i. 42; synagogue coins, ii. ii. 70.
- Gallus, see Aelius Gallus, Cestius Gallus.
- Gamala, situation, i. ii. 225; \* under the rule of one Demetrius, ii. i. 60; conquered by Alexander Jannäus, i. i. 304; turns from Agrippa II. and joins the rebellion, i. ii. 199, 200, 215; conquered by Vespasian, i. ii. 225; see also Gamalitia.
- Gamala, Lucilius, i. ii. 304.
- Gamaliel I., Rabban, i. ii. 269, 271; ii. i. 363, \* comp. ii. i. 323, 326, 335, 357; not president of Sanhedrim, ii. i. 183.
- Gamaliel II., Rabban, ii. i. 365-370, comp. i. i. 126, 269, 270, 273; ii. i. 323, 324; visits bath of Aphrodite at Ptolemais, ii. i. 53; fixing of intercalary year conditional on his approval, i. ii. 370.
- Gamaliel III., ii. i. 318.
- Gamalitit district, i. ii. 32; mixed population, ii. i. 2 and 4.
- Games, every fourth year, and others in Hellenistic towns of Palestine, ii. i. 23-28; i. i. 248; in Berytus, i. ii. 160 f., 249; in Jerusalem and other Jewish cities, ii. i. 33; i. i. 405, 432, 438 f.; in honour of the emperor, i. ii. 163; ii. i. 24; *Διονύσια* in Jerusalem in time of Antiochus Epiphanes, ii. i. 24; judgment of Pharisaic Judaism upon them, ii. i. 33; see also Drama, Marionettes, Chance (games of).
- Garia, village of, i. ii. 220.
- Garments, see Industry, Trade.
- Garmu, priestly family, engaged in preparing the shewbread, ii. i. 268.
- Gaul, Jews residing there, ii. ii. 242; inscription of a merchant of Kanatha, ii. i. 108; Herod Antipas banished to Lugdunum in, i. ii. 36; Archelaus banished to Vienne in, i. ii. 42.
- Gaulana (Golan), place so called, i. i. 301, 304, ii. 12.
- Gaulanitis, district, i. ii. 12; mixed population, ii. i. 2-4.
- Gauls in the army of Herod, i. i. 447.
- Gaza, city, ii. i. 68-72; \* i. i. 195, 248, 298, 306, 404, 428, ii. 6; old and new, to be distinguished, ii. i. 70; *ἑρμῆος*, ii. i. 70; haven of = Majuma Gazae or Constantia, ii. i. 70; constitution, ii. i. 70; era, ii. i. 70; worship, ii. i. 12; trade with Athens in Persian age, ii. i. 68; calendar, ii. i. 72; coins, ii. i. 69, 71; games, ii. i. 25, i. ii. 296; wine, ii. i. 41.
- Gazara (= Gaser), i. i. 236, 261 f., \* 263, 270, 277, 372; called also Gadara, i. i. 372.
- Gehenna, ii. ii. 183.
- Gemara, i. i. 133.
- Gematria (a rabbinical art of finding numbers in words), ii. i. 343.
- Gemellus at the court of Herod, i. i. 442.
- Genarches of Jews in Alexandria, ii. ii. 244.
- Genealogies of the priests, ii. i. 210; of the Israelites, ii. i. 212, ii. 157.
- Genesis, the little, Book of Jubilees, see Jubilees.



- Genoa, Jews residing there, II. ii. 242.
- Geography of Palestine, literature of, I. i. 14–20; Josephus' notions of, I. i. 109; Agrippa's chart of the world, I. ii. 117.
- Georgius Syncellus, see Syncellus.
- Gephros=Ephron, I. i. 220 f.
- Gerasa, city, II. i. 116–119; \* I. i. 197, 304, II. 231; belonging to Decapolis, II. i. 95; worship, II. i. 20; coins, II. i. 118; writers belonging to, II. i. 29, 119; games, II. i. 28; Jews residing there, II. i. 117.
- Gerasa, another city of that name, I. ii. 231.
- Gerim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.
- Germanicus, I. i. 358 f.
- Germans in the army of Herod, I. i. 447.
- Gerusia in Jerusalem, II. i. 166, 167, 172; of Jews in Alexandria, I. ii. 94; II. ii. 244, 247.
- Gerusiarchos or Gerusiarchon, II. ii. 248 f.
- Geser, see Gazara.
- Gessius Florus, procurator, I. ii. 190, 191, 208.
- Gezer, see Gazara.
- Gibeon, near Jerusalem, I. ii. 212.
- Gifts or legacies, see *Congiararia*; to the priests and temple, II. i. 230–254; paid by Jews of dispersion, II. i. 247 f., II. 257 f., 263, 288 f.; paid in Tyrian or Phoenician money, II. i. 40, 244, 250; whether paid after destruction of temple, I. ii. 272, 277; II. i. 251, II. 263, 290; obligation of proselytes to pay, II. ii. 307, 324; for the poor, II. i. 241; see Custom, Taxes.
- Gilead, population in beginning of Maccabean age, I. i. 192 f.; expedition of Judas thither, I. i. 220; of Alexander Jannäus, I. i. 301; Galaaditis perhaps stands for Gamalitis in Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1, I. ii. 32.
- Ginnabrin, I. ii. 89 f.
- Giora=the proselyte, II. ii. 315; see Simon bar Giora.
- Gisbarim, II. i. 261 f.
- Gischala (=el-*Dschisch*), I. ii. 215, 216, 225; \* synagogue there, II. ii. 71.
- Gittin, Talmudic tract, I. i. 123.
- Gladiators, see Games.
- Gladii jus* or *potestas*, I. ii. 57.
- Glaphyra, daughter of King Archelaus of Cappadocia, I. i. 456, II. 40 f.; inscription at Athens, I. ii. 40.
- Glass manufacture at Sidon, II. i. 45; comp. on the Phoenician glass manufacture, Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, t. iii. 1885, pp. 732–750.
- God, nature of, in forged verses of Greek poets (unity and omnipotence), II. iii. 298 ff.; Philo's doctrine of, II. iii. 369 f.; of Jews worshipped without images, heathen view of, II. ii. 295, iii. 265; opinion of Strabo, II. ii. 298; *θεός* of Jews, II. iii. 264 ff.; Son of, as predicate of the Messiah, II. ii. 159.
- Gods, 365 spoken of by Orpheus, II. iii. 299; worshipped in heathen cities of Palestine, II. i. 12–23; Arabian, II. i. 22.
- God-fearing = Proselytes.
- Gog and Magog, II. ii. 165, iii. 279.
- Golan, see Gaulana.
- Gold denarius, II. i. 38 f.
- Good, the highest, according to Philo, II. iii. 379.
- Goods, community of, among Essenes, II. ii. 195.
- Gophna, situation, II. i. 158; inhabitants sold as slaves by Cassius, I. i. 386; restored to freedom by orders of Antony, I. i. 388; capital of a toparchy, II. i. 157, 158; besieged by Vespasian, I. ii. 232.
- Gorgias, Syrian general, I. i. 214, 221.
- Gorion, son of Joseph, I. i. 228, 230; see Abba Gorion.
- Gorionides, I. i. 165 f.
- Gorpiaios, see Montha.
- Gortyna, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221; see also Crete.
- Gospels should be burnt, according to R. Tarphon, II. i. 377.
- Governors, Roman, see *legati*, *pro-*

- consules, procuratores.* Succession of Roman Governors in Syria, I. i. 328-370; in Judea, I. ii. 81 f., 166-191, 258-264; under Herodian princes in the cities, II. i. 66.
- Grace before and after meat, II. ii. 117; might be said in other languages than Hebrew, II. ii. 10, 284.
- Grain, a chief product of Palestine, II. i. 41; gifts thereof to the priests, II. i. 237.
- Grammar of rabbinical language, I. i. 139.
- Gratus, officer of Herod, I. ii. 51.
- Gratus, procurator, see Valerius Gratus.
- Graves are unclean, I. ii. 19 f.; Jewish inscriptions on, literature of, I. i. 31-34; celebrated—
- (1) In and near Jerusalem: David's, I. i. 276; John Hyrcanus', I. i. 290; Alexander Jannäus', I. i. 305; monument of Herod, I. i. 467; kings' graves, II. ii. 310 f.; monument of Helena, II. ii. 310; of St. James, with inscription of benê Chesir, I. i. 31. On other graves: see Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, II. 227 ff.
  - (2) In Palestine: Patriarchs' graves at Hebron (see Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 7); of Joshua at Thamna, II. i. 158 f.; of the Maccabees at Modein, I. i. 210, 233, 254; of Archelaus at Bethlehem, I. ii. 42. On graves of Rabbis in Galilee, see Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, 1847.
  - (3) In the Dispersion: at Rome, II. ii. 240; at Venosa, II. ii. 242. Greece, Jews dwelling there, II. ii. 222, 232,\* 270, 282; Oriental religions introduced there, II. ii. 300 f.; relations with the East, see Athens, Sparta, and following article.
- Greek influences on the internal development of Palestinian Judaism, II. i. 350, ii. 216 f.; language among Jews of Palestine, II. i. 47-50; see also Hellenism; words in Mishna, II. i. 31 f., 46; names among the Jews of Palestine, II. i. 47; kûrbis (pumpkins) and hyssop, II. i. 43; not understood by people of Scythopolis, II. ii. 82; study forbidden by Rabbis during the Quietus war, II. ii. 50; in public worship in the dispersion, II. ii. 283 f.; writers, their views of Judaism, II. ii. 291-297, iii. 249-262; writers of Palestinian descent, II. i. 28 f.
- Greeks at the court of Herod, I. i. 441 f.
- Groats, Cilician, II. i. 43.
- Gropina, see Agrippinas.
- Grossetest, translator of *Testam. XII. Patr.*, II. iii. 123.
- Gusch-Chalab = Gischala, I. ii. 225.
- Gymnasium in Jerusalem in time of Maccabees, I. i. 203; in heathen cities of Palestine, see Games.
- Gymnosophists, Indian, II. ii. 206.

## H

- Habdala, II. ii. 88.
- Hadrian, emperor, letter to Servianus about the Egyptians, II. ii. 230; travels of, I. ii. 295 f.; coins with inscription: *adventui Aug. Judaeae, I. ii. 296; exercitus Judaicus, I. ii. 314*; rebellion of Jews, and war against, I. ii. 287-321; \* occasion of this war, I. ii. 289-294; course of the war, I. ii. 297-312; chronology, I. ii. 295, 297, 311 f.; whether in Palestine during the war, I. ii. 305 f.; title of *Imperator*, I. ii. 313; founding of *Aelia Capitolina*, I. ii. 291, 294 f., 315-317; statue of emperor in the temple, I. ii. 317; forbids Jews to enter Aelia, I. ii. 315; forbids circumcision, I. ii. 291-293, 318; II. ii. 267 f.
- Haftarothe = Readings from the Prophets, II. ii. 81.
- Hajadath Megilla, I. i. 149.
- Haggada, I. i. 117 f., II. i. 327, 339-350; see Legends, Midrashim; Josephus' knowledge of, I. i. 85, 108; passages from Jerusalem and

- Babylonian Talmud (*Jephé maré* and *En Jacob*), I. i. 134.
- Haircloth, Cilician, II. i. 44.
- Halacha, I. i. 117 f.; II. i. 321-324, 330-339; \* declared to be legally binding, II. ii. 12; not acknowledged by the Sadducees, II. ii. 34; Philo's acquaintance with it, II. iii. 365; Josephus' acquaintance with it, I. i. 85, 108.
- Halicarnassus, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221, 258, 268.
- Hallel, II. i. 291.
- Hamath, district in Babylon, heathen colonists sent to Samaria, II. i. 6.
- Hamath on Lebanon, I. i. 251.
- Hananiah, see Ananias and Chananiah.
- Hands, defiling of, by touching books of Holy Scripture, II. i. 309, II. 5 f., 36; washing of, generally, II. ii. 109-111; before eating, II. ii. 111, 209 f.; before prayer, II. ii. 70; of officiating priests, II. i. 278, III. 116; laying on of, II. i. 177.
- Handicraft and the office of scribes, II. i. 318.
- Handkerchiefs, II. i. 44.
- Hannas, see Ananos.
- Haphtaroth = Readings from the Prophets, II. i. 81.
- Harbours in Palestine, see Ascalon, Azotus, Caesarea, Gaza, Jamnia, Joppa, Ptolemais.
- Harps, II. i. 272.
- Hasmoneus, I. i. 266.
- Hasmonean dynasty founded by Simon, I. i. 265; name of dynasty, I. i. 266; genealogy, I. ii. 400; chronology, I. i. 272; title of king, I. i. 292; judgment of Psalms of Solomon on, II. iii. 18, 19; of *Assumptio Moisi*, II. iii. 75.
- Hasmoneans, Mishna of, I. i. 130, II. iii. 5.
- Hasor, see Hazor.
- Hauran, see Auranitis.
- Hazor, place so named, I. i. 249.
- Healing of sick on Sabbath day, II. ii. 104; by magical arts, II. iii. 151-155; among the Essenes, II. ii. 204; in Book of Tobit, II. ii. 38.
- Heathen culture in Palestine, see Hellenism.
- Heathenism, literary polemic of Jews against, II. iii. 262-270.
- Heathenism, rabbinical casuistry keeps up separation from, II. i. 52-56.
- Heathens, judgment of against Judaism, II. ii. 291-297, III. 249-262; offer sacrifices in Jerusalem, II. i. 299-305; those who "feared God" among, see Proselytes.
- Heathens as such unclean, II. i. 54, II. 320; intercourse with, restricted by rabbinical injunctions, II. i. 53 f., 54 f.; see also Exclusiveness.
- Heave-offerings for the priests, see Terumah.
- Heaven, metonym for God, II. ii. 171; kingdom of, II. ii. 170 f.
- Hebran in Hauran, in tetrarchy of Philip, I. ii. 13.
- Hebrew language in Palestine in time of Christ, II. i. 9 f.; in what cases its use obligatory, II. i. 10, II. 284 f.; Philo's knowledge of, II. iii. 365; Josephus' knowledge of, I. i. 108; new words and grammatical forms in rabbinical, I. i. 138 f.
- Hebrews (*Ἀβραῖοι*), synagogue of, in Rome, II. ii. 248.
- Hebron, destroyed by Judas Macabaeus, I. i. 221; overcome by Simon Bar-Giora, I. ii. 232; destroyed by Cerealis, I. ii. 233; yearly market at the terebinth near, I. ii. 314.
- Hecataeus of Abdera, Jewish forgeries under his name, II. iii. 302-306, 297; comp. II. i. 218, 283; older than Aristaeus, II. iii. 303, 306.
- Hecataeus of Miletus, geographer, II. i. 88 (on the genuineness of his work, see also Diels, *Hermes*, xxii. 1887, p. 411 ff.).
- Hecate, worship of, in Gaza, II. i. 12.
- Hecatombs, offerings, II. i. 302.
- Hegesippus, Christian writer, on James the Just, I. ii. 187 f.; on

- search for descendants of David by Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan, I. ii. 279.
- Hegesippus (Pseudo), *De Bello Judaico*, I. i. 100, 101; used by Josippon, I. i. 166.
- Heifer, the red, by what high priests burnt, I. i. 289; II. i. 197.
- Helbon on Lebanon, inscription there, I. ii. 192, 193.
- Helena of Adiabene, II. ii. 309–311.
- Helicon, slave of Caligula, I. ii. 96.
- Heliopolis in Egypt, where Abraham had intercourse with the priests, II. iii. 211; a sanctuary there founded by Jacob's sons, II. iii. 207; Jewish temple in Nomos of, see Leontopolis.
- Heliopolis in Syria, I. ii. 340.
- Helios, worship in Ascalon, II. i. 14; in Damascus, II. i. 19; in Gaza, II. i. 12; in Hauran, II. i. 23; of sun-god in Rome, II. ii. 302.
- Hell, see Gehenna.
- Hellenism in Palestine, I. i. 194–199, 202; II. i. 11–51.\*
- Hellenistic cities in Palestine, history and constitution, II. i. 57–149; Judaism, literature of, II. iii. 156–381; see also Dispersion; Jew in Asia Minor in time of Aristotle, II. ii. 225.
- Heman, family of temple singers, II. i. 271.
- Hemerobaptists, II. ii. 210.
- Heraclides, minister of Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 240.
- Heraclitus draws from Moses, II. iii. 367; Epistles of, II. iii. 316.
- Hercules, relationship with Abraham, II. iii. 310; descendants, II. iii. 210; Jews sent to Tyre offerings for, I. i. 203; worship of, in Caesarea, II. i. 17; in Gadara, II. i. 20; in Philadelphia, II. i. 20; in Hauran, II. i. 22.
- Herennius Capito, I. ii. 99, 152.
- Hermes identified with Moses, II. iii. 206; father of Sikimios, founder of Shechem, II. iii. 225.
- Hermes Trismegistus, II. iii. 319.
- Hermippus Callimachus, II. iii. 161, 317.
- Herod the Great—
- (1) Josephus' sources for his history, I. i. 60, 88; non-extant works on him (his own Memoirs, Ptolemy, Nicolas of Damascus, Justus of Tiberias), I. i. 56 ff., 65 ff.
  - (2) Descent—whether of Ascalon, I. i. 314; 'Ἡμιουδαῖος, I. i. 419; date of his birth, I. i. 383; doings and fortunes prior to his appointment as king, I. i. 383–390; appointment as king, I. i. 393; conquers Palestine, I. i. 393–399.
  - (3) Reign, I. i. 399–352; chronological summary, I. i. 400–416; position as king in eye of law, I. i. 448–451, II. 122–127.
- Policy—
- (a) Foreign—Relations to Antony and Cleopatra, I. i. 422–426; to Augustus, I. i. 426–429, 448–453, 458–464.
  - (b) Home Policy—Relations to Pharisees and Sadducees, I. i. 419, 444, 445, 463; to the nobles in Jerusalem, I. i. 419, 445; II. i. 170; to the Asmonean family, I. i. 419–423.
  - (4) Sundry details—Buildings, I. i. 405, 408, 409, 413, 432–438,\* 440; still existing remnants of his works: theatre at Jerusalem, I. i. 432 f.; David's tower, I. i. 433; temple walls, I. i. 439; temple in Kanatha, I. i. 434; colonnaded street in Samaria, II. i. 125; fortress of Herodium, I. i. 435; fortress of Masada, I. i. 436, II. 251 f. Character, I. i. 416 f.; indications of culture and taste, I. i. 440–442; memoirs composed by him, I. i. 56; oath refused by Pharisees, I. i. 445; *ἱερέως* of Syria, I. i. 453; family, I. i. 396, 420–423, 430–432, 454–464; enlargements of territory, I. i. 404, 409, 453; genealogy, I. ii. 401; observ-

- ance of requirements of law, I. i. 443, 444 f.; Greeks at his court, I. i. 442; high priests appointed and deposed by him, II. i. 197 f.; wars with Arabians, see Malchus I. and Obodas II.; coins, I. i. 443, 450; palace in Ascalon, I. ii. 7; II. i. 76; palace in Jerusalem, see Buildings; policy, I. i. 448; prescriptions, I. i. 401, 420; II. i. 170; travels to Rome, I. i. 410, 411, 414; games, I. i. 405, 438 f.; cities founded or rebuilt, I. i. 434 f.; II. i. 85 f., 123-132; remission of taxes, I. i. 409, 411, 448; studies, humanist, I. i. 442; temple, see Buildings; wills, first, second, and third, I. i. 415, 416, 461-464; death and burial, I. i. 464-467; year of death, I. i. 465-467; estimate of him in *Assumptio Mosis*, II. iii. 75.
- Herod, son of Herod the Great by the second Mariamme, I. i. 415, 455, 462, II. 20, 21, 22.
- Herod, son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra, I. ii. 20.
- Herod Antipas, see Antipas.
- Herod Archelaus, see Archelaus.
- Herod Agrippa, see Agrippa.
- Herod of Chalcis, I. ii. 159, 192 f., 341-344; coins and inscriptions, I. ii. 343; high priests appointed by, II. ii. 200.
- Herod Atticus, I. i. 417, II. 260.
- Herod of Ascalon at Puteoli, I. i. 315.
- Herod, days of, referred to by Per-sius, II. ii. 306.
- Ἡρώδης, orthography of name and various men of name of Herod, I. i. 416 f.
- Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus, I. ii. 21 f., 23-28, 36, 151; date of her marriage with Antipas, I. ii. 31.
- Herodias, supposed name also of daughter of Antipas, I. ii. 28.
- Herodium, fortress, built by Herod the Great, I. i. 435; Herod buried there, I. i. 467; capital of a top-archy, II. i. 157, 160; in Jewish war conquered by Lucilius Bassus, I. ii. 250; another fortress of same name, I. i. 435.
- Heromicas=Jarmuk, river, II. i. 101.
- Heroon in Gaza, II. i. 12.
- Hesbon, see Esbon.
- Hesiod, verses on the Sabbath, II. iii. 296 f., 302.
- Hesychius, recension of the Septua-gint, II. iii. 165 f.
- Hexapla of Origen, II. iii. 164 f.
- Hezekiah, king of Judah, ordered suppression of Solomon's "Book of Cures," II. iii. 153 f.
- Hezekiah, high priest in time of Ptolemy Lagus I. i. 188.
- Hezekiah, captain of robber band, I. i. 383.
- Hieromices, Hieromax, river, II. i. 101.
- High priests, history specially at-tended to by Josephus, I. i. 89.
1. Succession:
    - (a) From Alexander the Great to time of Macca-bees, I. i. 188 f.
    - (b) In time of Maccabees:
      - Onias III., I. i. 202-204;
      - Jason, I. i. 202-204;
      - Menelaus, I. i. 204, 226;
      - Alcimus, I. i. 227, 230, 234-236.
    - (c) The Asmonean princes from Jonathan to Anti-gonus, I. i. 241-399; here-ditary succession, I. i. 264; title, I. i. 265, 284, 292, 293, 305, 378, 392; [as analogous, compare the princes of Chalcis and Iturea, Ptolemy, Lyسانias, and Zenodorus], I. ii. 332, 334.
    - (d) From Herod the Great to the Destruction of Jeru-salem, II. i. 197-202; I. ii. 228.
  2. Political position, I. i. 188, 284, II. 72; II. i. 184-190, 197-206; \* also in Roman Age high priest is προπάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, I. ii. 72; presidents of Sanhedrim, II. i. 180-184; deposed, retained privileges

- and functions, II. i. 202 f.; families, II. i. 202-206; several ἀρχιερεῖς in Sanhedrim, II. i. 182, 202-206; belonged to Sadducean party, II. i. 178; or Pharisees, II. i. 178; violent proceedings of, during A.D. 50-66, I. ii. 181, 189.
3. Position of the priests—marriage laws, II. i. 210; cleanness, II. i. 213; beautiful robe, II. i. 256; history of that robe, I. ii. 76, 167; dress on day of Atonement of white, II. i. 43, 256; daily meat-offering, II. i. 287-289; sacerdotal functions, II. i. 254 ff.; exercised also by Asmonean princes, see John Hyrcanus, I. i. 284; by Alexander Jannäus, I. i. 300.
- Hillel, the elder, II. i. 180, 323, 334, 353, 356, 359-363; his seven rules, II. i. 336 f.; proverbs, II. i. 353; introduces a Prosbol, II. i. 362 f.; Hellel=*profanus* according to Jerome, I. i. 119; schools of Shammai and, II. i. 334, 359-363.
- Hillel, patriarch in fourth cent. A.D., his calendar reform, I. ii. 372.
- Hippicus, tower on palace of Herod, I. ii. 211, 247.
- Hippodrome, see Games.
- Hippolytus, περὶ τοῦ παυτός, I. i. 94.
- Hippus, city, II. i. 98-100,\* I. i. 196, 306, 323, 404, 428, II. 6; situation, see Addenda in Appendix vol.; belonging to Decapolis, II. i. 95; era and coins, II. i. 100; Ἀντισοχίδης πρὸς Ἰππον, II. i. 100; Jews residing there, II. i. 100.
- Hiram, king of Phoenicia, see Suron.
- Hispalus, praetor, II. ii. 233.
- History:
- (1) Of Palestinean Jews, II. iii. 6-15, 114 f., 133-151.
  - (2) Of Hellenistic Jews, II. iii. 195-222.
- Holofernes in Book of Judith, II. iii. 32 f.
- Homer quoted by Philo, II. iii. 363 f.; quoted by Josephus, I. i. 86; probably referred to in Mishna (Judajim iv. 6), II. ii. 6; Polemic against, in Sibyllines, II. iii. 279; spurious verses on Sabbath, II. iii. 297, 302.
- Homonadensians conquered by Quirinius, I. i. 351 f.
- Honja temple, see Onias, Leontopolis.
- Honorius, see Julius Honorius.
- Hope, the Messianic, see Messianic Hope.
- Horajoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 124.
- Horace on the Jews, II. ii. 304, 308.
- Hösn, supposed identity with Hippus, I. ii. 225; II. i. 99.
- Hot Springs, see Baths.
- Houses in Palestine not to be let to heathens, II. i. 55; of heathens unclean, II. i. 54.
- Human sacrifices charged against Jews, II. ii. 296, iii. 266.
- Hyksos, according to Manetho, II. iii. 249 f.
- Hyparchs of cities, II. i. 146.
- Hyperberetaios, see Months.
- Hysicrates, I. i. 52.
- Hyrcania, fortress, I. i. 372, 436,\* 447.
- Hyrcania on Caspian Sea, Jews residing there, II. ii. 223.
- Hyrcanus, origin of name, I. i. 273 f.
- Hyrcanus, son of Joseph, builds palace of Arāk el-Emir, II. i. 36.
- Hyrcanus I., see John Hyrcanus.
- Hyrcanus II., son of Alexandra, high priest during reign of his mother, I. i. 308, 312; fortunes and doings during reign of his brother Aristobulus II., I. i. 313-325; reference to, in Psalms of Solomon, II. iii. 20; high priest and prince, B.C. 63-40, I. i. 371-391; president of Sanhedrim, II. i. 182; coins (?), I. i. 306; taken prisoner by Parthians, I. i. 401, 420; death, I. i. 404, 427.
- Hyrcanus, son of Herod of Chalcis, I. ii. 342.

Hyrcaus, son of Josephus, I. i. 82.  
 Hyssop, II. i. 43.  
 Hystaspes, II. iii. 292.

## I

Idolatry, see Heathenism.

Idumea, a toparchy of Judea, II. i. 157, 159, 160.

Idumeans (Edomites), territory originally occupied, I. ii. 350; fought against, by Judas Macabaeus, I. i. 220, 221; compelled to receive circumcision and accept the law of Moses by John Hyrcanus, I. i. 280; take part in Jewish rebellion, A.D. 67-68, I. ii. 229, 230; colony in Trachonitis, I. ii. 13; II. i. 4; converts received as Israelites in the third generation, I. ii. 157; vinegar (Edomite), II. i. 42; see also Edom.

Iijar, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.

Images among Jews forbidden, II. i. 52-54, I. i. 444, II. 77-79, 83, 86, 89; no, on coins of Asmoneans, Herodians, and Roman procurators, see Coins; of eagle on temple, I. i. 444, 463; II. i. 36; of animals on palace at Tiberias, II. i. 36; of animals in Arak el-Emir, II. i. 36; worship without, how received by heathens, II. ii. 295.

Imalkuë, Arabian, I. i. 247, II. 351.

Immortality, doctrine of, among the Essenes, II. ii. 205; in Book of Jubilees, II. iii. 138; in the Wisdom of Solomon, II. iii. 233 f.; in Fourth Book of Maccabees, II. iii. 245; in Philo, II. iii. 377; see also Resurrection.

Imperator, title of, borne by Titus, I. ii. 245; by Hadrian, I. ii. 313.

Inachus, king of Argos, II. iii. 260.

Incense, altar of, II. i. 281; offering of, II. i. 281, 289, 293, 295; preparing of, work of family of Abtinas, II. i. 268.

India, relations with the West, II. ii. 215 f.; Greek writers upon, II. ii. 215; Gymnosophists from,

II. ii. 206; clothing materials from, II. i. 43 f.

Industry in Palestine, II. i. 37-46.

Inns, II. i. 33.

Inscriptions, general literature regarding, I. i. 28-34; (1) Non-Jewish, I. i. 29 f.; (2) Jewish, I. i. 31-34; (3) Nabatean, I. ii. 345-348.

Inspiration of Old Testament, II. i. 307 f.; prophetic, according to Philo, II. iii. 366.

Instruction, see School.

Intercalary month among Jews, I. ii. 369-374.

Intercession of departed saints for the people, II. iii. 214.

Intercourse of Jews of Dispersion with Jerusalem, II. ii. 289-291.

Intermediate beings according to Philo, II. iii. 371-373.

Intermediate state between death and resurrection, II. ii. 180; Jeremiah though dead intercedes for the people, II. ii. 214.

Irbid, see Arbela.

Irenaeus, rhetorician at court of Herod, I. i. 442.

Irene, goddess, II. i. 23.

Isaiah, legends about, II. i. 345; apocryphal writings about him, II. iii. 141-146.

Isana, place so named, I. i. 396.

Isidorus Hispalensis on the census of Augustus, I. ii. 115.

Isis, worship of, in the Hauran, II. i. 23; in Greece, II. ii. 300; in Rome, II. ii. 301.

Ishmael, son of Phabi, high priest, II. i. 198; son of Phabi (a younger) high priest, II. i. 197, 200; R., II. i. 373 f.; \* I. i. 196, 145; II. i. 324; his thirteen rules, II. i. 337.

Itabyrion, see Tabor.

Italy, Jews residing there, II. ii. 232 f., \* 238-242; Jewish inscriptions in, I. i. 33, 34; see also Rome.

Italian cohort (Acts x. 1), I. ii. 53; *As* and *Pondium* in Palestine, II. i. 39 f.

Iturea, Itureans, history of their empire generally, I. ii. 325-344;

earliest mention of, I. ii. 326; celebrated as bowmen, I. ii. 327; inhabiting Mount Lebanon, I. ii. 327–329; a portion of their territory conquered and Judaized by Aristobolus I., I. i. 293; greatest extent of territory under Ptolemy and Lysanias, I. ii. 329–332; subsequent partitioning:

- (1) The domain of Zenodorus, I. ii. 332; this the Iturea over which Philip (Luke iii. 1) ruled, I. ii. 12, 335.
  - (2) Abilene, tetrarchy of Lysanias, I. ii. 335–339.
  - (3) Iturea in narrower sense, I. ii. 339, 340; *alae* and *cohortes Ituraeorum*, I. ii. 340 f.
  - (4) Chalcis, I. ii. 341–344.
- Izates, king of Adiabene, II. ii. 308–311, 313.

## J

Jabne, see Jamnia.

Jacob, patriarch, sketch of his history by Demetrius, II. iii. 200; by Theodotus, II. iii. 224 f.; *Ἰακώβου ἀναβιβασμοί*, II. iii. 151.

Jadajim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.

Jaddua, high priest, I. i. 188.

Jakim, high priest, see Alcimius.

Jakim, son of Zamaris, father of Philip, I. ii. 211.

Jakim, R., of Chadid, I. i. 252.

Jalkut Shimoni, I. i. 153.

Jamblichus (= Jamlicu), an Arabian, I. i. 247, II. 351.

Jambres, Egyptian sorcerer, II. iii. 149 f.

James, son of Zebedee, I. ii. 160.

James, brother of Jesus Christ, witness of Josephus regarding, I. ii. 146, 148 f., 186–188; Hegesippus about him, I. ii. 187; year of death, I. ii. 187; Epistle makes use of Jesus Sirach, II. iii. 28.

James, son of Judas of Galilee, I. ii. 81.

Jamnia, city, II. i. 78 f.; \* I. i. 221, 306, II. 7, 99, 231; in time of Christ pre-eminently Jewish, II. i. 2, 79; seat of Jewish learning,

II. i. 365, 366, 369; I. ii. 273; Jewish court of justice there, II. i. 173; I. ii. 275; vineyard there, place of resort for the learned, II. i. 326.

Jannäus, see Alexander.

James, Egyptian sorcerer, II. iii. 149 f.

Jarmuk, river, II. i. 101.

Jason, high priest in Maccabean age, I. i. 202–205.

Jason, Jewish ambassador to Rome in Maccabean age, I. i. 231.

Jason of Cyrene, I. i. 47; II. iii. 211–216.

Jason and Papiscus, dialogue, I. i. 70–72.

Jebamoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.

Jedaiah, priest class, II. i. 216 f.

Jeduthum, family of temple singers, II. i. 271.

Jelamdenu, Midrash, I. i. 152.

Jephê Marê, Haggadic passages from Jerusalem Talmud, I. i. 134.

Jeremiah, history of, by Eupolemus, II. iii. 204; deceased intercedes for people, II. ii. 214; precursor of Messiah, II. ii. 157; held to be author of Book of Baruch, II. iii. 193; letter of, II. iii. 195.

*Jeremiae paralipomena*, II. iii. 92.

*Jeremiae apocryphum*, II. iii. 131, 132.

Jericho, city fortified by Bacchides, I. i. 236; belongs to Jewish territory, I. i. 271; battle near, I. i. 313; seat of Sanhedrim of Gabinius, I. i. 372; given by Antony to Cleopatra, I. i. 402, 423; given by Augustus to Herod, I. i. 404, 428; Herod resides at, I. i. 421, 463, 464; castle of Cypros near, I. i. 435; theatre, amphitheatre, and hippodrome, II. i. 33; buildings there of Archelaus, I. ii. 41; capital of a toparchy, II. i. 157, 160; Roman garrison there, I. ii. 54, 231; date palms of, I. i. 423, II. i. 41; II. i. 42.

Jerome, *de viris illustr.*, as source of Suidas, see Suidas; Hebrew traditions, I. ii. 308, 311, 312; II. i. 239, 357, II. i. 21; numbering of O. T. books, II. i. 309; on the *δευτεράρις* of the Jews, I. i. 119;



- on Jewish prayer against Christians, II. ii. 89; on the complaints of the Jews, I. ii. 320; on the Essenes, II. ii. 201.
- Jeromismus = Hieronices, river, II. i. 101.
- Jerusalem, orthography on coins, ירושלים and ירושליים, I. ii. 379, 385, 387; on inscriptions *Hierosolyma*, II. ii. 250; *Hierosolymitana*, II. ii. 239; *Ἱεροσολυμίτης* (Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 294); poem on, by Philo the elder, II. iii. 223; fragments on topography by Timochares and an anonymous writer, I. i. 75; coins, I. i. 257, II. 383–392; sepulchral inscriptions, I. i. 31 f.; topography, literature on, I. i. 19; plans, I. i. 19 f.; outline of topography, I. ii. 238, 239; walls built by John Hyrcanus, I. i. 276; Hyrcanus II. (Antipater), I. i. 378, 381; Agrippa I., I. ii. 159, 239; synagogues, II. ii. 50, 73; comp. II. i. 49, II. 56 f.; wool market, II. i. 42; buildings of Herod, see Herod; streets by Agrippa II. with marble fronts, I. ii. 199; see also: Acra, Antonia, Bezetha, castles, palaces, scopus, temple, etc.; history, violent Hellenizing by Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 206; sieges by Antiochus Sidetes, I. i. 275; Aretus and Hyrcanus, I. i. 316; Pompey, I. i. 321; Herod, I. i. 396; in Roman times capital of a toparchy, II. i. 157, 160; capital of Judea, II. i. 161; garrison in time of procurators, I. ii. 55; comp. 48 f.; sieges and conquest by Titus, I. ii. 237–247; from Vespasian to Hadrian, I. ii. 265, 300–302, 306–308; founding of Aelia by Hadrian, see Aelia; entrance to city forbidden to the Jews, I. ii. 315.
- Jerusalem, the new or heavenly, II. ii. 168 f.
- Jerusalem Targum, see Targuma.
- Jesus, see Joshua.
- Jesus Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), II. iii. 23–30; origin of the book, II. iii. 27; title, II. iii. 28; quotations in Rabbinical literature, II. iii. 27; whether in Hebrew canon, II. i. 310; in Latin Church ascribed to Solomon, II. iii. 28 f. Messianic hope in, II. ii. 138; alphabet of Ben Sira, II. iii. 28.
- Jesus = Jason, high priest in Macbean age, I. i. 202.
- Jesus Christ, I. ii. 29, 30; \* chronology of His ministry, I. ii. 30 f.; literature of chronology of life of, I. i. 21–23; witness of Josephus to, I. ii. 143–149; in Suetonius = *Chrestus*, II. ii. 238; rabbinical parallels to the sayings of Jesus, II. ii. 124; descent from Levi and Judah, II. iii. 118–120; whether crucifixion by Roman soldiers, I. ii. 61–65; holy sepulchre and finding of the cross, I. ii. 317.
- Jesus, son of Phabi, high priest, II. i. 197.
- Jesus, son of Seë, high priest, II. i. 198.
- Jesus, son of Damnaïos, high priest, II. i. 201; I. ii. 189.
- Jesus, son of Gamaliel, high priest, II. i. 201, \* 202, II. i. 49; I. ii. 190, 228, 229.
- Jesus, son of Sapphias, τῶν ἀρχιεπίων ἑς, II. i. 203; I. ii. 214.
- Jesus, son of Sapphias, archon of Tiberias, II. i. 147.
- Jewish Christians, see Christians.
- Jewish population of Palestine, its extent, I. i. 191, 192; II. i. 1–7; see also: Galilee, Judea, Perea.
- Jezreel, the plain, I. ii. 89.
- Joachim, high priest in Book of Judith, II. iii. 33.
- Joasar, son of Boethos, high priest, II. i. 198; I. ii. 80.
- Job, history in Aristas, II. iii. 208; date of Greek translation, II. iii. 162, 209.
- Jobab = Job, II. iii. 208.
- Jochanan, see John.
- Jochanan, high priest, see John Hyrcanus.
- Jochanan ben Sakkai, Rabban, I. i. 127; II. i. 336 f.; \* comp. I. i. 126, 128; II. i. 323, 324, 325, 378; arrangement about the

- benediction, II. ii. 82; prophecies to Vespasian, I. ii. 223.
- Jochanan ben Nuri, R., I. i. 127; II. i. 377 f.
- Jochanan ben Beroka, R., I. i. 127; II. i. 378.
- Jochanan ben Torta, R., I. ii. 298.
- Jooser, captain of the temple, II. ii. 30.
- John, see also Jochanan.
- John, brother of Judas Maccabaeus, I. i. 209, 235.
- John Hyrcanus I., meaning of name, I. i. 273; in father's lifetime governor of Gazara, I. i. 261; conquers Kendeabäus, I. i. 271; reign generally, I. i. 272-290; \* chronology, I. i. 272 f.; relations with the Romans, I. i. 277; conquests, I. i. 279 f., 283; coins, I. i. 284; title, I. i. 285; relations with Pharisees and Sadducees, I. i. 286-289; chronicle of, I. i. 47; II. iii. 13.
- John the Baptist, I. ii. 23-29; account of, by Josephus, I. ii. 23 f.; chronology of his ministry, I. ii. 30-32.
- John of Gischala, I. ii. 216, 227-230, 233-235, 237-247, 249.
- John of Antioch, relations with Malalas, I. ii. 261 f.; comp. 88.
- John of Damascus, II. iii. 326.
- John Malalas, see Malalas.
- Joiarib, priest family, II. i. 219, 222.
- Jom Tob, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Joma, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Jonadab, family, II. i. 252.
- Jonathan, Maccabee, I. i. 209, 234-254; is made high priest, I. i. 241; *στρατηγός* and *μεριδάρχης*, I. i. 242; embassy to Rome, I. i. 249; death, I. i. 254; year of death, I. i. 255.
- Jonathan = Jannäus, see Alexander.
- Jonathan, son of Ananos, high priest, II. i. 199,\* 202; I. ii. 178.
- Jonathan, Targum on prophets, I. i. 155; Targum on Pentateuch, I. i. 158; literature on both, I. i. 162 f.
- Joppa, city, II. i. 79-83; \* I. i. 196, 244, 251, 253, 270, 277, 303, 306, 329, 381, 394, 404, 428; orthography of name, II. i. 80; harbour for Judea, II. i. 80; in Persian age subject to Sidonians, II. i. 80; Judaized by Maccabees, I. i. 253; II. i. 81; in time of Christ mainly Jewish, II. i. 2, 82; not one of eleven toparchies of Judea, II. i. 157; destruction during Jewish war, and rebuilding by Vespasian, II. i. 82; called also Flavia, II. i. 82; coins, II. i. 82; Andromeda myth, and her worship there, II. i. 14 f.; Jewish sepulchral inscription there, I. i. 32.
- Jordan, its sources, I. ii. 14.
- Jordan valley, called the "Great Plain," I. ii. 89; also *ὁ αὐλάν*, I. i. 424, 425; cultivation of, see Balsam, Date Palm.
- Jose ben Jooser, II. i. 180, 352, 357, ii. 30.
- Jose ben Jochanan, II. i. 180, 352, 357.
- Jose ha-Cohen, R., II. i. 367, ii. 30, 44.
- Jose the Galilean, R., I. i. 127; II. i. 378; his thirty-two rules, II. i. 348; sayings about the Suffering Messiah, II. ii. 185.
- Jose ben Chalephta, R., quoted more than 300 times in Mishna, I. i. 127; had seen Akiba, I. i. 128; supposed author of Seder Olam, I. i. 164.
- Jose, son of R. Judah, R., I. i. 127.
- Joseph, patriarch, sketch of his history, by Artapanus, II. iii. 206; by Philo the epic poet, II. iii. 223; by Philo the philosopher, II. iii. 342; see also Jubilees, *Testam. XII. Patr.*, Josephus; his wife Asenath, II. iii. 151; his prayer, apocryphal writing, II. iii. 127 f.
- Joseph, tax farmer in Palestine in time of the Ptolemies, II. i. 59.
- Joseph, Jewish general in times of Maccabees, I. i. 221.
- Joseph, grandfather of Josephus, I. i. 81.

Joseph, brother of Herod, I. i. 390, 395.

Joseph, uncle and brother-in-law of Herod, I. i. 402, 422.

Joseph, son of Eliezer, high priest, II. i. 198.

Joseph Caiaphas, high priest, II. i. 182, 199.\*

Joseph, son of Kamithos, high priest, II. i. 200.

Joseph Kabi, son of Simon, high priest, II. i. 201.

Joseph of Arimathea, II. i. 172.

Joseph, son of Gorion, I. ii. 214, 228; Hebrew historical work under his name, I. i. 165.

Josephus, Flavius, Jewish historian, I. i. 77, 110; \* II. iii. 221 f.; life, I. i. 77-81; II. 214-223; family, I. i. 81 f.

#### Works:

(1) *Wars of the Jews*, I. i. 82 f.; written first in Hebrew or Aramaic, I. i. 83; II. iii. 14; the passage II. 16. 4 makes use of the official statistical record, I. ii. 209.

(2) *Antiquities*, I. i. 84-90.

(3) *Life*, I. i. 90-92.

(4) *Treatise against Apion*, I. i. 93, 94.

(5) Spurious works, I. i. 94; II. iii. 246.

(6) Non-extant works, I. i. 94-97.

Sources of the *Antiquities*, I. i. 85-90, \* 108, 109; \* the Greek Ezra, II. iii. 179 f.; the Greek rendering of the Book of Esther, II. iii. 182; Epistle of Aristaeas, II. iii. 311; First Book of Maccabees, II. iii. 9 f.; Posidonius (indirectly), I. i. 49; Strabo, I. i. 54 f., 87; Nicolas of Damascus, I. i. 60, 87; Roman official documents, I. i. 89, 90, 109, 267, 277, 379, 388; II. 168; II. ii. 257; Philo, II. ii. 192; on the criticism of his (besides I. i. 85-90), I. i. 319, 429 f.

Character and credibility, I. i. 97-99.

Old translations and reproductions:

(a) Latin, I. i. 99-102.

(b) Syriac and Hebrew, I. i. 102.

Manuscripts and editions of Greek text, I. i. 102-105.

Modern translations and general literature about Josephus, I. i. 105-110.

#### Particulars:

Messianic idea, II. ii. 149.

Witness to Christ, I. ii. 143-149.

On John the Baptist, I. ii. 23 f.

On James, brother of Jesus, I. ii. 186-188.

Explanation of particular passages:

*Antiq.* xii. 4, I. ii. 69; II. i. 60; xiv. 10. 2-10, I. i. 379; xx. 5. 2, I. ii. 170.

*Wars of the Jews*, II. 17. 6, II. i. 363; III. 3, II. i. 2; vi. 5. 4, II. ii. 149.

c. *Apion*, I. 8, II. i. 308; II. 8, II. i. 219; II. 39, II. ii. 306.

#### Corrections of text:

*Antiq.* xi. 8. 5, I. ii. 213; xiii. 15. 3, I. i. 304; II. i. 117; xiii. 15. 4, II. i. 142; xiv. 1. 4, II. i. 142; xiv. 3. 2, I. i. 319; xiv. 3. 3, II. i. 116; xiv. 10, II. ii. 259; xiv. 10. 6, I. i. 381, 382; xiv. 10. 20, comp. *Ephemeris epigraph.* v. 68: Γαιος Παβνπιος Γαιου υιος; xvii. 10. 6, II. i. 141; xviii. 2. 1, II. i. 138; xviii. 5. 1, I. ii. 33; xx. 1. 1, II. i. 121; xx. 9. 3, I. ii. 189.

*Wars of the Jews*, I. 6. 4, II. i. 116; II. 18. 6: Naarus to be retained, see under Varus; III. 1. 3, I. ii. 219; III. 3. 3, II. i. 129; III. 9. 7, I. ii. 90; IV. 8. 2, I. ii. 90; v. 5. 7, II. i. 256; vi. 4. 3, I. ii. 236; vii. 6. 6, I. ii. 253, 258.

Josephus Gorionides, I. i. 165.

Josephus, Christian writer, author of *Hypomnesticum*, I. ii. 364; II. i. 197.

Josippon, I. i. 165.

Joshua, see also Jesus.

Joshua (Jesus), son of Nun, as type

- of Christ, II. iii. 286; grave at Thamna, II. i. 158.
- Joshua, high priest in time of Zerubbabel, I. i. 188.
- Joshua ben Perachja, II. i. 180.
- Joshua ben Gamla, see Jesus, son of Gamaliel.
- Joshua ben Chananiah, R., II. i. 370 f.;\* I. i. 126, II. 289; II. i. 367, 369, II. 320.
- Jotapata, fortress, I. ii. 217, 221–223; situation, I. ii. 221.
- Juba of Mauritania, I. ii. 40; year of his death, I. ii. 41.
- Jubilees, Book of, II. iii. 134–141; contents, II. iii. 135 f.; standpoint, II. iii. 136; date of composition, II. iii. 138 f.; use in Christian Church, II. iii. 139 f.; Messianic Hope in, II. ii. 145; astronomical knowledge, I. ii. 369.
- Judah, tribe of, ranks after that of Levi in *Testam. XII. Patr.*, II. iii. 118 f.
- Judah ben Baba, I. i. 431.
- Judah ben Betheria, I. i. 127; II. i. 378.
- Judah ben Ilai or Elai, R., quoted 600 times in Mishna, I. i. 127; was a hearer of R. Tarphon, I. i. 128.
- Judah ben Tabbai, II. i. 180, 353.
- Judah ha-Cohen, II. ii. 30.
- Judah ha-Nasi or ha-Kadosh, R., reviser of Mishna, I. i. 127, 129; literature about him, I. i. 129.
- Juadacorum castra, vicus*, II. ii. 287.
- Judas Maccabaeus, I. i. 209–233; cognomen "Maccabee," I. i. 212; was not high priest, I. i. 230; embassy to Rome, I. i. 231 f.; II. ii. 233; death, I. i. 233.
- Judas, son of Simon the Maccabee, I. i. 271.
- Judas = Aristobulus I., which see.
- Judas, an Essene, II. ii. 204 f.
- Judas, son of Sariphagus, I. ii. 416, 463.
- Judas of Galilee, son of Hezekiah, I. ii. 4, 80, 123, 131; his family, I. ii. 81.
- Judaism, estimate of, by the Greek world, II. ii. 291–297, iii. 248 ff.
- Judaism in the Dispersion, see Dispersion.
- Judea, mythological derivation of name from Udaïos, I. i. 251; extent in Maccabean age, I. i. 189–191; Ekron in B.C. 147 attached to, I. i. 244; Samaritan *vopoi* Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramathaim in B.C. 145 joined to, I. i. 191, 192, 245; Bethzur added by conquest, I. i. 249; Masada fortified by high priest Jonathan, I. i. 436 f.; II. 251; Adida taken and added to, I. i. 251; Joppa attached to, I. i. 253; Gazara attached to, I. i. 261; on additions to Jewish territory by John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus I., and Alexander Jannäus, see under these names; extent and population in time of Josephus, II. i. 2–4; Corea (see Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 5), the northernmost point in, I. i. 320; constitution in Roman age (divided into eleven toparchies), II. i. 149–163; I. ii. 65 f.; official designation of the province, I. ii. 46, 249, 255 f.; comp. also: *Judaica expeditio*, *Judaicum bellum*, I. ii. 303; till time of Vespasian under Syria, I. ii. 46, 166; afterwards a distinct province, I. i. 369, II. 257; succession of Roman procurators (to Vespasian), I. ii. 81, 166–191; succession of imperial legates (after Vespasian), I. ii. 258–264; affairs in Judea in time of procurators, I. ii. 43–79 (for particulars, see art. "Procurator"); Vespasian's Jewish estate became an imperial domain, I. ii. 253, 265; system of weights different from that of Galilee, II. i. 3 f.; woollen manufactures, II. i. 42; see also Palestine.
- Judgment, the last, II. ii. 165 ff., 181–183.
- Judith, book of, II. iii. 32–37; origin of, II. iii. 34; use among the Jews, II. iii. 35.

Julia, daughter of Augustus, II. i. 135.  
 Julia = Livia, wife of Augustus, see Livia.  
 Julia Agrippina, see Agrippina.  
 Julia Berenice, see Berenice, daughter of Agrippa I.  
 Julianus, a Jew in Laodicea, I. ii. 286 f.  
 Julian, emperor, referred to in Jerusalem Talmud, I. i. 134; on gifts of Jews to priests, I. ii. 272.  
 Julias, cities, see Bethsaida or Livias.  
 Julius, as name of later Herodians and other vassal princes, I. ii. 162.  
 Julius Africanus, see Africanus.  
 Julius Agrippa, see Agrippa I. and II.  
 Julius Agrippa, son of King Alexander, quaestor and propraetor of Asia, on one inscription at Ephesus, I. ii. 162.  
 Julius Alexander, see Tiberius Alexander.  
 Julius Archelaus, I. ii. 162.  
 Julius Caesar, see Caesar.  
 Julius Honorius, I. ii. 118.  
 Julius Sauromates, see Sauromates.  
 Julius Severus (Sextus), general under Hadrian, I. ii. 263, 305, 314.  
 Julius Severus (Ti. or P.), commander of fourth legion and governor of Bithynia, I. ii. 304, 363.  
 Junius Maximus, commander of tenth legion, I. ii. 258.  
 Jupiter Capitolinus worshipped in Aelia (Jerusalem), I. ii. 317.  
 Jupiter Sabazius, I. ii. 233.  
*Jus gladii*, I. ii. 57 f.  
*Jus Italicum*, II. i. 66.  
 Justinian's *Novell.* 146, II. ii. 285.  
 Justin, epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius, I. i. 116; Trogus Pompeius uses Posidonius, I. i. 49; on the Jews, II. ii. 293, iii. 262.  
 Justin Martyr on the descent of Herod, I. i. 314; on Jewish marriage laws, I. i. 455; on Jewish prayer against Christians, II. ii. 83; on the Zizith, II. ii. 112; on

Messiah doctrine of Jews, II. ii. 162, 164, 185, 186; (pseudo), *Cohortatio ad Graecos* uses Julius Africanus, II. iii. 260; *Cohortatio* and *de Monarchia* use forged verses of Greek poets, II. iii. 295.  
 Justus of Tiberias, I. i. 65–69; II. iii. 222; party position during the war, I. i. 66; his history of the war, I. i. 67, 92; his Chronicle, I. i. 67, 68; perhaps used by Africanus, and indirectly by his successors, I. i. 68, 306, 307, 391.  
 Justus, son of Josephus, I. i. 82.  
 Juvenal on the Jews, II. ii. 296; on Jewish proselytes, II. ii. 308, 312.

## K

Kadytes = Gaza, II. i. 68.  
 Kahana, R., reputed author of the *Pesikta*, I. i. 150.  
 Kalla, Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.  
 Kamith, family of high priests, II. i. 204.  
 Καμπήσιοι, Jewish community at Rome, II. ii. 248.  
 Kanata, city, II. i. 106 f.; coins and era, II. i. 107.  
 Kanatha, city, II. i. 108–110; \* belonging to Decapolis, II. i. 95; era and coins, II. i. 109; theatre, II. i. 27.  
 Kasiun, synagogue there, II. ii. 71.  
 Kedes, synagogue said to be there, II. ii. 71.  
 Kedron, place so called, I. i. 270.  
 Kelim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.  
 Kenath, see Kanatha.  
 Kendebüs, general, I. i. 270.  
 Kephars-Asis, place so called, II. i. 374.  
 Kepher-Othnai, II. i. 369.  
 Keph-Birim, synagogue there, II. ii. 71.  
 Keraze = Chorazin.  
 Kerithoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 124.  
 Kerykos of Gerasa, II. i. 29, 119.  
 Kethuboth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.  
 Keto = κῆτος, II. i. 15.  
 Ketzer, see Minim.  
 Kiddushin, Talmudic tract, I. i. 123.  
 Kilajim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 121;

garment of linen and wool allowed only to priests, II. i. 277.  
 Kings under Roman suzerainty, their legal position, I. i. 448–451, II. 122–127.  
 King, title among Asmoneans, I. i. 292.  
 Kinnim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.  
 Κλαυδίς Τιβερίης, II. i. 146; Κλαυδίς Φιλίππης Γαθηνός, II. i. 128.  
 Kleruchies in Judea, see Toparchy.  
 Κλίμαξ Τύρου, I. i. 248.  
 Knots, tying of, forbidden on Sabbath, II. ii. 97.  
 Koheleth (Ecclesiastes) has a place in the Canon, II. i. 309 f.; Midrash on, I. i. 149.  
 Kolias, Spanish, II. i. 43.  
 Kore, see Persephone.  
 Kotylas, see Zeno Kotylas.  
 Kotys of Lesser Armenia, I. ii. 159.  
 Kronos, worship of, in the Hauran, II. i. 22.  
 Kyrrestike, district of country, I. i. 341.

## L

Laberius Maximus, procurator of Judea, I. ii. 258.  
 Labienus, I. i. 341.  
 Lacedaemon, buildings of Herod there (see Sparta), I. i. 437.  
 Lactantius uses the Sibyllines, II. iii. 289; quotes Hystaspes, II. iii. 294.  
 Lamech, Book of, II. iii. 151.  
 Lamentations of Jeremiah, Midrash on I. i. 148.  
 Lamentations of Jews over the destruction of Jerusalem, I. ii. 320.  
 Lamia, see Aelius Lamia.  
 Lamps in the synagogues, II. ii. 75.  
 Language, Galilean dialect, II. i. 10.  
 Languages, the Seventy, II. i. 344.  
 Language, see Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, Latin.  
 Laodice, daughter of Antiochus VIII. Grypos, ancestress of the dynasty of Commagene, I. i. 184.  
 Laodicea on the sea, in Syria, I. i. 338, 401, 422; linen industry, II. i. 41, 44; inscriptions there, II. i.

24 f.; Julianus and Pappus, Jews residing there, I. ii. 286 f.  
 Laodicea on Lebanon, I. ii. 330.  
 Laodicea in Phrygia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 258, 261; woollen manufactures, II. i. 44; sandals made there, II. i. 44.  
 Larcius Lepidus, commander of tenth legion in army of Titus, I. ii. 236.  
 Largesses to citizens, see *Congiaria*.  
 Lasar (לָסָר), in many MSS. of the Mishna and in Jerusalem Talmud the usual form of Eleasar, II. i. 372, 373.  
 Latin language in Palestine, II. i. 50; words in the Mishna, II. i. 31 ff.; names among Jews in Palestine, II. i. 47.  
 Laver, brazen in temple, II. i. 278, 283.  
 Law, the Jewish, canonical authority, origin from heaven, II. i. 306 f.; legends regarding the giving of the, II. i. 344; elaboration of, by scribes, see Halacha, Scribes; standpoint of Pharisees with regard to the, II. ii. 19–25; standpoint of the Sadducees, II. ii. 34–38; sketch of, by Aristeeas, II. iii. 308; by Aristobulus, II. iii. 239; by Philo, II. iii. 338 ff.; by Josephus, II. iii. 221, 269 (add thereto: Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8); reasonableness of the ceremonial law, I. i. 95; II. iii. 221, 240, 269, 308; ceremonial, even according to Philo, binding, II. iii. 369; subordinate significance of sacrificial ordinance (24 verses of Philemon or Menander on this theme), II. iii. 301; instruction in the law, see School, Scribes, Synagogue; importance and value of the study of the, II. ii. 44 f.; study of, by proselytes, II. ii. 311 f.; observance of, enforced by penalties and consequences, II. ii. 90–125; \* evasion by formal observance, II. ii. 120–122; at what age full observance became obligatory? II. ii. 47–52; observance of, by young children, II. ii. 50 f.; observance

- of, by God-fearing Gentiles and proselytes, II. ii. 305, 311–327; observance of, by strangers (*Gerim*), II. ii. 315; observance of, in Messianic kingdom, II. ii. 174.
- Law, book of the, see Scriptures.
- Law, administration of, in Hellenistic cities of Palestine, see Constitution.
- (1) Administration of, among the Jews in Palestine, II. i. 149–195, II. ii. 55 ff.; after destruction of Jerusalem, I. ii. 273–277; criminal jurisdiction under Roman procurators restricted, but not abolished, II. i. 187–190; I. ii. 57, 73; proceedings before the courts of, II. i. 193–195; on Sabbath no court of, was held, II. i. 190; Jews not compelled to appear on Sabbath before heathen courts of, II. ii. 262; sittings of courts of, on second and fifth days of week, II. ii. 190; Greek legal phraseology used by Rabbis, II. i. 32; see also Halacha, Scribes.
- (2) Administration of, among Jews of Dispersion, II. ii. 243–270; by judicatories of their own, II. ii. 260, 269.
- (3) Separate courts of, for Roman citizens, II. ii. 278; seat or tribunal which judge, according to Roman law, must occupy, I. ii. 15.
- Lawyers (*νομοι*) in Palestine, I. i. 190.
- Laxity, moral, alongside of strict observance of the law, II. ii. 120–125.
- Lazarus, see Lasar.
- Lebanon, for political history of the territory see Iturea, Chalcis, Heliopolis, Laodicea on Lebanon, Caesarea on Lebanon.
- Legati Augusti pro praetore*, title of imperial governors, I. i. 348; their mandate terminated with death of emperor, I. ii. 33; succession of, in Syria down to Vespasian, I. i. 328–370; succession of, in Judea from time of Vespasian, I. ii. 258–264.
- Legati ad census accipiendos*, I. ii. 119, 140.
- Legends, see Haggada; writings containing, II. iii. 114, 133–151, 196 ff.
- Legiones*, לְגִיּוֹנִים, with Rabbis = army generally, II. i. 31; organization of Roman, I. ii. 49.
- Legions, list of those stationed in Syria and Palestine:
- (1) From Augustus to Nero, I. ii. 50.
  - (2) In Vespasian's army, I. ii. 218–220.
  - (3) In army of Titus, I. ii. 235, 236.
  - (4) In war of Hadrian, I. ii. 303, 304.
- Legion, history of the 5th, I. ii. 231, 255; of the 10th, I. ii. 237; the 10th forms garrison of Palestine under Vespasian, I. ii. 248, 255; coins with figure of swine, I. ii. 316 f.; history of the 12th, I. ii. 212, 236.
- Lejâh in Trachonitis, I. ii. 11.
- Lemba, place so named, II. i. 142.
- Lentulus Crus, consul in B.C. 49, II. ii. 264, 278.
- Lentulus Marcellinus, governor of Syria, I. i. 330, 372.
- Leontius, his *Florilegium*, II. iii. 326.
- Leontopolis in the Nomos of Heliopolis, Jewish temple there, II. ii. 286–288; I. ii. 253; mentioned in Sibyllines, II. iii. 287.
- Lepidus, see Larcus Lepidus.
- Leptogenesis, see Jubilees.
- Leucas, city, I. ii. 336.
- Leuke Kome in Arabia, I. i. 407, II. 359.
- Leuke Kome in Phoenicia, I. i. 342.
- Leviada = Livias, II. i. 141.
- Levites, II. i. 223–229, 265–273; clothing of, I. ii. 198; precedence to tribe of Judah in *Testam. XII. Patr.*, II. iii. 118 f.
- Lexicons of Rabbinical Hebrew, I. i. 138, 139.
- Liberius, see Laberius.

- Libertines, their synagogue in Jerusalem, II. i. 49, II. 56 f., 276.  
 Libias = Livias, II. i. 141, 142.  
*Librarian*, II. i. 37.  
 Libya, early mythical history of, II. iii. 210.  
 Licinius, M. Crassus, triumvir, I. i. 331-333, 375.  
 Licinius, C. Mucianus, governor of Syria, I. i. 369.  
 Lie, Rabbinical casuistry is but the necessary, I. ii. 71; limited by Origen in accordance with the instance of the Book of Judith, II. iii. 35.  
 Lights in temple always burning, II. i. 281, 293; kindling of, on Sabbath, II. ii. 306; on the Feast of the Dedication, I. i. 218; see also Lamps.  
 Linen industry at Scythopolis, Laodicea, Byblus, Tyre, Berytus, II. i. 41; in Laodicea, II. i. 44; in Galilee, II. i. 42; in Pelusium, II. i. 43; used for priests' clothing, II. i. 276; granted for clothing to temple singers by Agrippa, I. ii. 198; not to be mixed with wool except for priests, I. ii. 71; II. i. 277.  
 Lint or flax, Egyptian, II. i. 43.  
 Lishkath Hagesith, place of meeting of the Great Sanhedrim, II. i. 190-192; priests go there to cast lots and to repeat the Shema, II. i. 191, 292, 294.  
 Literature, Jewish, II. iii. 1-381; Palestinian-Jewish, II. iii. 1-155; Graeco-Jewish, II. iii. 156-381; pseudonymous: (a) under names of Prophets, II. iii. 49-133; (b) under names of heathens, II. iii. 270-320; Rabbinical, I. i. 117-166.  
 Livia, Empress, called also Julia after death of Augustus, II. i. 141; held some cities in Palestine, I. ii. 9; II. i. 63; Palestinian coins with name of, I. ii. 78; and Tiberius as *Σεβασταί*, I. ii. 338; had Jewish female slave Akmé, II. ii. 239.  
 Livias = Beth-Aramphtha, city, II. i. 141-143; \* I. ii. 18 f.  
 Livy, I. i. 114.  
 Lod, see Lydda.  
 Logos doctrine in Philo, II. iii. 374-376.  
 Lollius, general under Pompey, I. i. 328.  
 Lollius, M., general of Augustus, I. i. 356.  
 Longinus, see Cassius and Pompeius.  
 Loos, see Months.  
 Lot, daily service of priests determined by, II. i. 269, 293-295.  
 Luceius Albinus, see Albinus.  
 Lucian of Antioch, recension of Septuagint, II. iii. 165 f.  
 Lucian of Jerusalem, hagiographer, on Gamaliel the elder, II. i. 364.  
 Lucillius Bassus, I. ii. 250, 258.  
 Lucillius, Gamala, I. ii. 304.  
 Lucius, consul, I. i. 267.  
 Lucuas, see Lukuas.  
 Lucullus, I. i. 183, 273, 311; II. ii. 231.  
 Lud, see Lydda.  
 Lugdunum = Lyons, I. ii. 36.  
 Lugdunum Convenarum, I. ii. 36.  
 Lukuas, leader of Jews in Cyrene, I. ii. 284.  
 Lupus, see Rutilius Lupus.  
 Lusius, Quietus, general under Trajan, governor of Judea, I. ii. 262, 285-287; *Polemos shel Kitos*, I. ii. 286.  
 Lustrations, see Purifications.  
 Lycia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221; add here the inscription from Konykos, *Revue des études juives*, x. 1885, p. 75 sq.  
 Lydda, to B.C. 145 belonging to Samaria, since then to Judea, I. i. 190, 191, 245 f.; inhabitants sold as slaves by Cassius, I. i. 386; by order of Antony restored to freedom, I. i. 388; capital of a toparchy, II. i. 157-159; besieged by Vespasian, I. ii. 231; seat of Rabbinical school, II. i. 366; residence of Elieser, II. i. 372; residence of Akiba, II. i. 375; (*δευτεροῦς* *quidam* in time of Jerome) purple dyeing, II. i. 42; "plain" of, II. i. 252.  
 Lydia, Jews settled there by Antiochus the Great, II. ii. 226; see also Thyatira, Sardis; add also the inscriptions from Hypaepa and



Magnesia on Sipylus, *Revue des études juives*, x. 1885, pp. 74-76.  
 Lysanias, son of Ptolemy Mennäus of Chalcis, i. i. 344, 402 f., ii. 328, 331; coins, i. ii. 332.  
 Lysanias of Abilene, i. ii. 153, 155, 193, 335-339; inscriptions, i. ii. 335, 338; literature about him, i. ii. 325, 338 f.  
 Lysias, city, i. i. 319, ii. i. 142.  
 Lysias, Quietus, see Lusius Quietus.  
 Lysias, Syrian general, i. i. 214, 216, 223-227.  
 Lysimachus, writer about the Jews, ii. ii. 293, iii. 254.

## M

Maaser sheni, Talmudic tract, i. i. 121.  
 Maaseroth, Talmudic tract, i. i. 121.  
 Mabortha, subsequently called Neapolis, i. ii. 266.  
 Maccabee, meaning of the name, i. i. 212 f.; dynasty, see Asmoneans.  
 Maccabees, the seven martyrs, i. i. 209; as they appear in the sacred legends, ii. iii. 213, 244-246.  
 Maccabees, First Book of, ii. iii. 6-13; title, ii. iii. 9; use by Josephus, ii. iii. 9; chronology of, i. i. 36-46.  
 Maccabees, Second Book of, ii. iii. 211-216; chronology of, i. i. 36-46.  
 Maccabees, Third Book of, ii. iii. 216-219.  
 Maccabees, Fourth Book of, ii. iii. 244-248; i. i. 94.  
 Maccabees, Fifth Book of (=Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi.), i. i. 102.  
 Macedonians, name and privileges given to Jews of Alexandria, ii. ii. 272.  
 Macedonia, Jews residing there, ii. ii. 222.  
 Machärus, fortress, i. i. 372, 436, ii. 23, 25, 27, 54, 231, 250; situation and history, i. ii. 250.  
 Machshirin, Talmudic tract, i. i. 125.  
 Macro, see Naevius Sertorius Macro.  
 Magic, magical books, magical formulae, ii. iii. 151-155; expulsion of evil spirits by, in Book of Tobit, ii. iii. 38; cures by, among the Essenes, ii. ii. 204.  
 Maimonides, i. i. 218, ii. 372, ii. ii. 52.  
 Majuma Ascalonia, ii. i. 74.  
 Majuma Gazae, ii. i. 71.  
 Makkoth, Talmudic tract, i. i. 123.  
 Malalas, relation to John of Antioch, i. ii. 261, comp. also i. ii. 88.  
 Malatha, fortress, i. ii. 151.  
 Malchus=Imalkuë, an Arabian, i. i. 247, ii. 351.  
 Malchus=Cleodemus, writer, ii. iii. 97, 209.  
 Malchus I., king of the Nabateans, B.C. 50-28, i. i. 344, 402, ii. 13, 355 f.; war with Herod, i. i. 403, 426, ii. 355; inscriptions, i. ii. 355 f.  
 Malchus II., A.D. 48-71, i. ii. 13, 220, 359 f.; inscriptions and coins, i. ii. 360.  
 Malichus, i. i. 386.  
 Malthace, wife of Herod, i. i. 456.  
 Mambres=Jambres, ii. iii. 149.  
 Mamortha=Mabortha, Neapolis, i. ii. 266.  
 Manäem=Menachem.  
 Manasseh, prayer of, ii. iii. 188.  
 Manetho on the Jews, ii. iii. 249-251.  
 Mappa, ii. i. 45.  
 Marcellinus, see Lentulus.  
 Marcellus, procurator, i. ii. 81, 87.  
 Marcellus, governor of Syria, see Publicius.  
 Marcheshvan, Hebrew month, i. ii. 363.  
 Marcius, C., Censorinus, i. i. 356.  
 Marcius, Q., Crispus, i. i. 337, 385.  
 Marcius Philippus, governor of Syria, i. i. 329, 372.  
 Marcius Turbo, governor of Egypt, i. ii. 282, 284.  
 Marcus Aurelius on the Jews, ii. ii. 297; said to have had intercourse with R. Judah ha-Nasi, i. i. 129.  
 Marcus, son of the Alabarch Alexander, i. ii. 342.  
 Mariamme, wife of Herod, grand-

- daughter of Hyrcanus II., I. i. 396 f., 405, 420, 422, 429; her children, I. i. 455.
- Mariamme, wife of Herod, daughter of the high priest, I. i. 408, 455.
- Mariamme, wife of Archelaus, I. ii. 41.
- Mariamme, daughter of Agrippa I., I. ii. 165.
- Mariamme, wife of Herod of Chalcis, I. ii. 342.
- Mariamme, tower on the palace of Herod, I. ii. 211, 247.
- Marion, tyrant of Tyre, I. i. 387.
- Marionettes, constructed by Antiochus Cyzicenos, I. i. 282.
- Marissa, city in Idumea, I. i. 221, 280.
- Marnas, worship of, in Gaza, II. i. 13; worship of, in the Hauran, II. i. 23.
- Marriage, marriage law, in Mishna in Second Seder, I. i. 122 f.; by Philo treated in connection with the seventh commandment, II. iii. 343, comp. also Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8. 23 ff.; polygamous, see Polygamy; duty of (*debitum tori*), II. ii. 211; dissolution of (see Divorcement, letters of), II. ii. 123; drinking water of jealousy abolished by Jochanan ben Sakkai, II. i. 367; laws for priests, II. i. 210-213; laws for female proselytes, II. ii. 325; the Essenes repudiate, II. ii. 200, 211.
- Mars, field of, in Rome, see *Campus Martius*.
- Marsus, see Vibius Marsus.
- Marsyas, plain of, see Massyas.
- Martha, daughter of Boethos, II. i. 201.
- Martialia, see Rammius.
- Martyrs, the Maccabean, see Maccabees; in war of Bar-Cochba, I. ii. 312.
- Marullus, procurator, I. ii. 81.
- Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, whether of Levitical descent, II. iii. 120.
- Mary of Beth-esob, I. ii. 241.
- Masada, fortress, I. i. 390, 394, 436, ii. 210, 241, 251; situation and history, I. i. 251.\*
- Massalians, II. ii. 72.
- Massora, beginnings of, II. i. 328.
- Massyas, plain between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, I. ii. 328.
- Mater synagogae*, II. ii. 252.
- Mattathias, father of the Maccabees, I. i. 209-212.
- Mattathias, son of Simon the Maccabee, I. i. 271.
- Mattathias = Antigonus, which see.
- Matthai, see Nittai.
- Matthias, son of Theophilus, high priest, B.C. 5-4, II. i. 198.
- Matthias, son of Ananos, high priest about A.D. 42-43, II. i. 199.
- Matthias, son of Theophilus, high priest about A.D. 65-66, II. i. 201.
- Matthias, son of Boethos, of the high priestly family, II. i. 204; I. ii. 233.
- Matthias, son of Margaloth, I. i. 416, 463.
- Matthias, father of Josephus and two ancestors of same name, I. i. 77, 81.
- Mauritania, Jews residing there, II. ii. 232.
- Maximus, see Junius M. and Labe-rius M.
- Maximus Confessor, II. iii. 326.
- Meals, see Sacrificial Feasts.
- Meat-offerings, II. i. 279, 285, 286; gifts from these for priests, II. i. 235, 241; daily offered by high priest, II. i. 287-289, 292-294.
- Mechilta, Midrash, I. i. 145-147, II. i. 374.
- Medaba, city on east of the Jordan, I. i. 279.
- Media, Jews residing there, II. ii. 223.
- Median beer, II. i. 42.
- Mediator for the people in syna-gogue service (Sheliach Zibbur), II. ii. 67.
- Megasthenes on India, II. ii. 215.
- Megilla, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122; see also Esther.
- Megillath Antiochus, I. i. 165.
- Megillath Taanith, I. i. 163; II. ii. 308.
- Megilloth the five, II. ii. 81; Mid-rash on, I. i. 147.

Meila, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.  
 Meir, R., quoted more than 300 times in the Mishna, I. i. 127; regarded by many as author of an older Mishna, I. i. 131.  
 Meiron, synagogue there, II. ii. 71.  
 Meleager of Gadara, II. i. 29, 103.  
 Melos, Jews residing there, II. ii. 232.  
 Mementoes (*phylacteries*, etc.), II. ii. 111-115.  
 Memphis, II. ii. 227, 286.  
 Memra, doctrine of, in the Targums, II. iii. 376.  
 Menachem, Essene of time of Herod, II. ii. 205.  
 Menachem, contemporary of Hillel, II. i. 180.  
 Menachem, a Zealot, I. ii. 81.  
 Menachoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 124.  
 Menander, comic poet, spurious verses, II. iii. 295, 301.  
 Menelaus, high priest, I. i. 204, 226.  
 Menippus of Gadara, II. i. 29, 103.  
 Merchants, see Trade.  
 Mesopotamia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 223-225; rebellion there under Trajan, I. ii. 286.  
 Messalla, M. Corvinus, I. i. 346.  
 Messiah, II. ii. 158-164; \* name, II. ii. 158; pre-existence, II. ii. 161; time and manner of his appearing, II. ii. 162-164; conquers the hostile powers, II. ii. 165 f.; duration of his reign, II. ii. 175 f.; the suffering, II. ii. 184-187; son of Joseph and son of Ephraim, II. ii. 167, and Index vol.; of Levi and Judah, according to *Testam. XII. Patr.* and Irenaeus, II. iii. 118, 120; Bar-Cochba as, I. i. 298, 299.  
 Messianic Hope, II. ii. 126-187.\*  
 (1) Relation to the older Messianic hope, II. ii. 129-137.  
 (a) Universal, II. ii. 130 f.  
 (b) Individual, II. ii. 131 f.  
 (c) Transcendental, II. ii. 132-134.  
 (d) Dogmatical, II. ii. 134.  
 Strong hold of, on the mind of the nation, II. ii. 135; comp. also undertaking of Theudas,

I. ii. 168; and that of the Egyptian, I. ii. 180.  
 (2) Historical survey, II. ii. 137-154; Daniel, II. ii. 137; Apocryphal books, II. ii. 138; Sibyllines, II. ii. 139, 143; Enoch, II. ii. 141; Psalms of Solomon, II. ii. 142; *Assumptio Moisi*, II. ii. 144; Book of Jubilees, II. ii. 145; Philo, II. ii. 146-149; Josephus, II. ii. 149; after destruction of Jerusalem, I. ii. 277 f.; Apocalypse of Baruch, II. ii. 150; Fourth Book of Ezra, II. ii. 151; Shemoneh Esreh, II. ii. 152; Targums, II. ii. 153.  
 (3) Systematic statement, II. ii. 154-187.  
 (a) The last tribulation and perplexity, II. ii. 154 f.  
 (b) Elijah as the forerunner, II. ii. 156.  
 (c) Person of Messiah, time and manner of His appearing, II. ii. 158-164.  
 (d) Last attack of the hostile powers, II. ii. 164.  
 (e) Destruction of the hostile powers, II. ii. 165-168.  
 (f) Renovation of Jerusalem, II. ii. 168.  
 (g) Gathering of the dispersed, II. ii. 169.  
 (h) The kingdom of glory in Palestine, II. ii. 170-177.  
 (j) Renovation of the world, II. ii. 177-179.  
 (k) The general resurrection, II. ii. 179-181.  
 (l) The last judgment: eternal life and eternal death, II. ii. 181-183.  
 (m) Appendix: The Suffering Messiah, II. ii. 184-187.  
 Messina, Jews residing there, II. ii. 242.  
 Mesusa, II. i. 10, 112; \* Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.  
 Metellus, general under Pompey, I. i. 328.  
 Metellus, Q., Scipio, I. i. 334, 376.

- Metempsychosis in Philo, II. iii. 377 f.; not held by Pharisees, II. ii. 13.
- Metoikoi, II. ii. 315.
- Meton, astronomer, I. ii. 366.
- Metropolis, *μετρόπολις*, as title of Caesarea, II. i. 87; of Damascus, II. i. 98; of Gadara, II. i. 103.
- Metuens religionis judaicae*, II. ii. 314.
- Mia, village, II. i. 121.
- Michmash, district of country, I. i. 239.
- Middoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.
- Midrash:
- (1) Nature of this kind of composition, II. i. 330 f., 340; rules for Halachic Midrashim, II. i. 336 f.; kinds of Haggadic Midrashim, II. i. 339 ff.; rules for these, II. i. 347 f.; historical M. on Book of Jubilees, II. i. 341.
  - (2) Written Midrashim, I. i. 145–153; Mechilta, Siphra, Siphre, I. i. 145; Rabboth, I. i. 147; Pesikta, I. i. 149; Pirke Elieser, I. i. 151; Tanchuma, I. i. 152; Jalkut Shimoni, I. i. 153; Midrash Abba Gorion, I. i. 149; Midrash Ele Eskera (on martyrs in Bar-Cochba war), I. ii. 312.
- Mikwaoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.
- Miletus, Jews residing there, II. ii. 258.
- Military arrangements. Jewish princes since John Hyrcanus had mercenary troops, I. i. 280, 309, 447; of Romans generally, I. ii. 49; standards, I. ii. 79; in Palestine during Roman age, I. ii. 49–57; II. i. 65; terms among Greeks and Romans, used also by Rabbinical writers, II. i. 31.
- Military service among Jews generally, II. ii. 105; under Ptolemy Lagus, II. ii. 228, iii. 303; under later Ptolemies, II. ii. 272; Jews refuse, on Sabbath, II. ii. 105; Jews exempted from, I. ii. 50; II. ii. 259, 264; see also: *alae*, *cohortes*, *legiones*, *sieges*.
- Milk of heathen unclean, II. i. 55.
- Minim = heretics, II. ii. 88 f.
- Mirrors, II. i. 45.
- Misanthropy charged against Jews, II. iii. 268.
- Mishna, I. i. 119–130; meaning of name, I. i. 119; contents of our, I. i. 121–125; date of composition, I. i. 126–130; older works, which form its basis, I. i. 128–130; of R. Akiba, I. i. 131; of Asmoneans, I. i. 130; II. iii. 5; literature on the, I. i. 136, 139–141. [The *Codex de Rossi*, 138, the readings of which, after careful examination, I have adopted, is to be found at Parma]; Greek and Latin words in the, II. i. 31.
- Mithras, worship of, in the West, II. ii. 302.
- Mithridates of Commagene, founder of the dynasty, I. i. 184.
- Mithridates I. of Parthia, I. i. 269.
- Mithridates of Pergamum, I. i. 377.
- Mithridates of Pontus, I. i. 317; II. ii. 277.
- Mizpah, place in neighbourhood of Jerusalem, I. i. 214.
- Moabites, I. i. 301; II. ii. 326.
- Modein, home of the Maccabees, I. i. 209,\* 233, 254.
- Modesty of the Essenes, II. ii. 199, 211.
- Modius, see *Aequus*.
- Moed Katan, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Molon, see Apollonius Molon.
- Monobazus, king of Adiabene, II. ii. 309–311.
- Monotheism in heathen systems of worship, II. ii. 302; see also God.
- Months, the Hebrew and Macedonian, I. ii. 363 ff.; Josephus designates the Hebrew by Macedonian names, I. ii. 374–376; see also Calendar.
- Monumentum Ancyranum*, I. i. 155.
- Moon, cycles of the, I. ii. 366; eclipse of, in the year of Herod's death, I. i. 465.
- Morals, see Ethics.
- Moses lived in time of Amosis and Inachus, II. iii. 260; Halachoth

- which are ascribed to him, II. i. 333; legends about him, II. i. 343, iii. 73, 149; inventor of alphabetical writing, II. i. 343, iii. 203; the father of all science and culture, teacher of Orpheus, II. i. 343 f., iii. 206; teacher of the Greek philosophers, II. iii. 239–241, 265, 368; sketch of his history by Demetrius, II. iii. 200; by Eupolemus, II. iii. 203; by Artapanus, II. iii. 206; by Ezekiel, II. iii. 225–228; by Philo, II. iii. 348; comp. also: Jubilees, Josephus; sketch of his legislation by Aristeeas, II. iii. 308; by Aristobulus, II. iii. 239–241; by Philo, II. iii. 219, 338 ff.; by Josephus [add Jos. *Antiq.* iv. 8], II. iii. 269 f.; testament and ascension of, see *Assumptio*; other Apocrypha which are referred to him, II. iii. 81; heathen fables about him, and about the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, II. ii. 293 f., iii. 249 ff.; as magician by Pliny and Apuleius, II. iii. 150; Strabo's estimate of, II. ii. 298.
- Moses of Chorene on Aristo of Pella, I. i. 72.
- Moso, a female to whom origin of Jewish law is ascribed by Alex. Polyhistor, II. iii. 199.
- "Mother," title given to cities from which offshoots had gone in Jewish antiquity, II. i. 155.
- Mourning of priests forbidden, II. i. 214.
- Mucianus, see Lucinius.
- Munacius, L. Plancus, I. i. 343.
- Murcus, see Statius Murcus.
- Muries, brine, II. i. 43.
- Musaeus = Moses, teacher of Orpheus, II. iii. 206; son of Orpheus, II. iii. 300.
- Musaph-prayer, II. ii. 57 f.
- Music, Greek in Palestine, II. i. 36; temple, II. i. 270; blasts of trombones on New Year's day, II. ii. 75; blasts of trumpets on feast days, II. ii. 75.
- Mustard, Egyptian, II. i. 42.
- Myndus, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221.
- N
- Nabartein, synagogue there, II. ii. 71.
- Nabatean kings, I. ii. 345–362.
- Nabateans, early history of, I. ii. 348 f.; Petra, capital of the, I. ii. 349; kingdom of, extended from Red Sea to Euphrates, I. ii. 359, 361; kingdom of, made a Roman province by Trajan, I. ii. 361; literature of coins and inscriptions, I. ii. 345–347.
- Naevius Sertorius Macro, I. ii. 92, 95.
- Nahardea, see Nehardea.
- Nahum the Median, II. i. 323, ii. 224.
- Names, Greek and Latin, among the Jews of Palestine, II. i. 47.
- Name of God (יהוה) uttered in temple service, II. i. 296, ii. 82; elsewhere not expressed, II. ii. 82.
- Naples, Jews residing there, II. ii. 242.
- Nasi, title, II. i. 180–184; on coins of Simon, I. ii. 299.
- Nasir, Talmudic tract, I. i. 123.
- Nathan, see Aboth derabbi Nathan.
- Navalis victoria* of Vespasian, I. ii. 225; naval engagement by Hadrian, I. ii. 304.
- Nazareni*, II. ii. 89.
- Nazarites, Agrippa I. assists a multitude of the, to pay their vows, I. ii. 56; vow of, taken by Queen Helena, II. ii. 310; vow of, taken by Berenice, I. ii. 197.
- Neapolis near Shechem, I. ii. 231, 266; situation, I. ii. 266; era and coins, I. ii. 267; worship, I. ii. 267; purple dyeing, II. i. 42; games, II. i. 24; synagogue of Samaritans, II. ii. 72; see also Shechem.
- Neara, village, I. ii. 41.
- Nebuchadnezzar in Book of Daniel, II. iii. 49; in Book of Judith, II. iii. 32.
- Nechonjon, see Onias IV.
- Nedarim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 123.
- Negaim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.
- Nehardea, Jews residing there, II. ii. 224, 225, 290.

Nehemiah, R., I. i. 127.  
 Nehorai, R., II. ii. 45.  
 Nero, emperor, period of reign, I. i. 368; Palestinian coins, I. ii. 78; Jews at his court, II. ii. 238 f.; death, I. ii. 231; return expected according to Sibyllines, II. iii. 285.  
 Neronias, city, I. ii. 196; II. i. 133 f.; see also Caesarea Philippi.  
 Nerva, emperor, relations with the Jews, II. ii. 267.  
 Nethinim in the temple, II. i. 225, 273.  
 New Year's day always held in autumn, I. i. 38; II. ii. 250; blowing of trombones on, II. ii. 75.  
 New moon, proclamation of, I. ii. 368; service in temple on day of the, II. i. 298; service in synagogues, II. ii. 83.  
 Nicanor, Syrian general, I. i. 214, 228; his death, I. i. 230; day of, as Jewish festival, I. i. 230.  
 Nicarchus on the Jews, I. i. 75; II. iii. 262.  
 Nicephorus, stichometry, II. iii. 125.  
 Nicolas of Damascus, I. i. 58-63; whether Jew or heathen? I. i. 441; used Posidonius, I. i. 49; an authority of Josephus, I. i. 49, 60, 87; zeal in service of Herod, I. i. 414 f., 441, 459, II. 3, 6; on the descent of Herod, I. i. 314.  
 Nicolaus, a kind of palm, I. i. 425; II. i. 42.  
 Nicomachus of Gerasa, II. i. 119.  
 Nicopolis near Actium, I. i. 437.  
 Nicopolis in Palestine, see Emmaus.  
 Nidda, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.  
 Nika on coins and inscriptions in Caesarea, II. i. 17; in Damascus, II. i. 19; in the Hauran, II. i. 23.  
 Nisan, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.  
 Nisibis, Jews residing there, II. ii. 224, 290.  
 Nittai of Arbela, II. i. 180, 353, 357.  
 Noah, his wife Noria, II. iii. 151; allegorical treatment of his history by Philo, II. iii. 335; precepts of, II. ii. 318.  
 Noarus = Varus, son of Soemus, see Varus.

Noorath, see Neara.  
 Noria, wife of Noah, II. iii. 151.  
 Numenius, Jewish ambassador, I. i. 249, 266, 267.  
 Numenius, Greek philosopher, uses the O.T., II. iii. 318 f.; refers to Jannes and Jambres, II. iii. 150.  
 Numismatics, see Coins.  
 Nuta, Persian, II. i. 43.  
 Nysa, name of towns, II. i. 20; see also Scythopolis.

## O

Oaths, casuistical treatment of, II. ii. 122; absolutely refused by the Essenes, II. ii. 199; of allegiance to the king, I. i. 445; to the emperor, I. i. 445, II. ii. 72.  
 Obedas, see Obodas.  
 Obodas I., Arabian king, I. i. 301, II. 352.  
 Obodas II., Arabian king, B.C. 28-9, I. ii. 356; was with Herod, I. i. 414, 459, II. 356; coins, I. ii. 356.  
 Ochus, Artaxerxes, II. ii. 223.  
 Octavianus Augustus, *Res gestae*, composed by him (= *Monumentum Ancyranum*), I. i. 115; life written by Nicolas of Damascus, I. i. 61, 62.

(1) On his political history:  
 Period of his reign, I. i. 345; battle at Philippi, I. i. 339; arrangement with Antony, I. i. 339; defeat of Antony, I. i. 345; arrangements about the heathen cities of Palestine, II. i. 62; decrees respecting the provinces, I. i. 347; spends B.C. 21-19 in the East, I. i. 350, 409; relations with Herod, I. i. 393, 404-416, 426-429, 451-453, 457, 464; decisions after death of Herod, I. ii. 2, 5, 6.

(2) Several details:  
 Era of, B.C. 27, I. ii. 78, 125; title of Augustus, I. i. 406; *Congiararia* at Rome, I. i. 412; Indian ambassadors visit him, II. ii. 215;

- rationarium imperii*, I. ii. 114; imperial census, I. ii. 114-120; imperial survey, I. ii. 117.
- (3) Relations with the Jews:  
 Decrees in favour of the Jews, II. ii. 257; gifts for the temple at Jerusalem, I. ii. 75; II. ii. 305; offerings for the emperor at the temple of Jerusalem, see Emperor; Palestinian coins, I. ii. 77 f., 125; *Ἀντιοχειαί*, Jewish communities in Rome, II. ii. 247.
- Odeion in Kanatha, II. i. 27.
- Odium hostile* of the Jews toward all men, II. iii. 268.
- Oenomaus of Gadara, II. i. 103.
- Oenoparas, river, I. i. 244.
- Offerings, Jewish, II. i. 278-305; \*  
 different kinds of, II. i. 278 f.; public and private, II. i. 278 f.; burnt-offerings, trespass-offerings, meat-offerings, sin-offerings, drink-offerings, see under these several terms; gifts thereof to the priests, II. i. 237, 242 f.; daily burnt, of congregation, II. i. 284-287, 294-296; time when brought in, II. i. 287; on what days the high priest officiated at the, II. i. 255; daily meat-offering of high priest, II. i. 287-289, 296-298; daily, cease on 17th Tammuz A.D. 70, I. ii. 242; on Sabbaths and festivals, II. i. 297 f., II. i. 103; hecatombs, II. i. 302; Gentiles present them to temple at Jerusalem, II. i. 299-305; for the emperor, I. ii. 76, 90, 210; II. i. 302, III. 191, 267. Several details: Proselytes', II. ii. 319; Essenes repudiate animal sacrifices, II. ii. 200, 213; verses of Philemon or Menander on the subordinate importance of sacrifices, II. iii. 301; at the temple of Leontopolis, II. ii. 286-288; no longer continued after destruction of Jerusalem, I. ii. 268-272; human, charged upon Jews, II. ii. 296, III. 266; heathen, in Jerusalem in time of Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 208.
- Ohaloth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.
- Oil, an important product of Palestine, II. i. 42; good, *e.g.* Regeb in Perea, I. i. 304; Gischala in Galilee, I. ii. 227; gifts of, to the priests, II. i. 238; heathen, forbidden to Jews, II. i. 55, 265.
- Olive tree, synagogue of the, II. ii. 74, 248.
- Olophernes, see Holofernes.
- Olympiad era, I. ii. 393 ff.
- Olympic games patronized by Herod, I. i. 439.
- Oniases, I. i. 250.
- Onias I., high priest, I. i. 188; communication to him from the Spartans, I. i. 250.
- Onias II., high priest, I. i. 188.
- Onias III., high priest, I. i. 188, 202, 203.
- Onias IV., builder of temple at Leontopolis, I. i. 226; II. ii. 280, 286-288; see also Leontopolis.
- Onias, Jewish general under Ptolemy VI. Philometer, II. ii. 279.
- Onias the rain maker, I. i. 317.
- Onkelos, Targum, I. i. 154; date of composition, I. i. 156; literature, I. i. 161; = Aquila, I. i. 157; II. iii. 172.
- Onomastica of Philo, Origen, and Jerome, II. iii. 360, 361.
- Ophla, division of the city of Jerusalem, I. ii. 246.
- Oracle, Sibylline, see Sibyllines.
- Ordination of judges and officers of the community, II. i. 179 f.; of priests, II. i. 215.
- Origen, Hexapla, II. iii. 164 f.; statements about Hebrew canon, II. i. 308; on the additions to Daniel, II. iii. 185; on the title of First Maccabees, II. iii. 10; on the Pharisees, II. ii. 21; on Philo's Onomasticon, II. iii. 360; quotation from Josephus about James, I. ii. 146, 186, 187; on the power of Jewish ethnarchs in Palestine, I. ii. 276 f.; on creation *ex nihilo*, II. iii. 214; intercession of saints, II. iii. 214; on the necessary lie of Judith, II. iii. 35.

- Orine, the province or toparchy of Jerusalem, II. i. 157; ἡ ὀρίνη Ἰουδαία, II. ii. 230.
- Orla, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Orodes, King of Parthians, I. i. 340, 389.
- Orpheus, Jewish verses ascribed to, II. iii. 298–301; according to Artapanus, a pupil of Moses, II. iii. 206.
- Orthosias, city, I. i. 269 f.
- Osarsiph = Moses, II. ii. 293, iii. 250.
- Ossaeans, II. ii. 213.
- Ossuaria, Jewish, inscriptions on these, I. i. 31.
- Otho, emperor, I. i. 370, ii. 374.
- Owl as bird of ill omen, I. ii. 164.
- P**
- Pachath-Moab, family, II. i. 252.
- Pacorus, Parthian prince, I. i. 340, 341, 389.
- Pacorus, Parthian cup-bearer, I. i. 389.
- Palaces in Jerusalem :
- Palace of Hasmoneans, I. ii. 197; of Herod, I. i. 408, 433, 440; II. 4, 48, 211, 247; of high priest Ananias, King Agrippa, and Berenice, I. ii. 211, 199; of Helena, Monobazus, and Grapte, II. ii. 310.
- Palestine :
- The name Παλαιστίνη Συρία, II. ii. 193; literature on geography of, I. i. 16–20; maps and atlases, I. i. 19 f.; coins, I. i. 25–28; inscriptions, I. i. 31–34; political relations and spread of Jewish population in beginning of Maccabean age, I. i. 186–192; political condition in time of Roman procurators, I. ii. 43–79; comp. also on Palestine as Roman province, "Judea;" population of, in time of Christ, II. i. 1–7; boundaries according to views of Rabbis, I. ii. 10 f.; see also Galilee, Idumea, Judea, Perea, Samaria.
- Palæstina tertia*, with Petra as its capital, I. ii. 362.
- Palermo, Jews residing there, II. ii. 242.
- Palilia, Roman festival, I. ii. 393.
- Pallas, wife of Herod, I. ii. 20.
- Pallas, favourite of Claudius, I. ii. 175, 183, 184.
- Palm, see Date Palm.
- Palma, see Cornelius.
- Palmyra, inscriptions, I. i. 30, 31; customs tariff in time of Hadrian, I. ii. 67, 70; Jewish inscription with beginning of Shema, *ed.* by Landauer, I. i. 31; calendar, I. ii. 373.
- Pamphylia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221, 222.
- Pan, worship of, in Caesarea Philippi, II. i. 21, 132 f.
- Πάνυστον, I. i. 196; II. i. 21, 132, 134.
- Panemos, see Months.
- Panias, district of country, II. i. 132; I. i. 453, ii. 12, 333.
- Panias, city, II. i. 132–135; I. ii. 14; see also Caesarea Philippi.
- Pantikapaion in the Crimea, Jewish inscriptions there, II. ii. 58, 69, 226.
- Papias, Rabbi, I. ii. 370.
- Papias' statements about the millennium derived from Apocalypse of Baruch, II. iii. 91.
- Papias not translated by Jerome, I. i. 99.
- Papiscus and Jason, dialogue, I. i. 70–72.
- Pappus, general under Antigonus, I. i. 396.
- Pappus, a Jew in Laodicea, I. ii. 286.
- Papyrus Parisiensis*, n. 68 on the Jews, I. i. 72 f.
- Para, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.
- Paradise, II. ii. 183.
- Paragaudion*, II. i. 44.
- Paralipomena of Jeremiah, II. iii. 92.
- Pareshioth, II. ii. 80.
- Pareosh, family, II. i. 252.
- Paros, Jews residing there, II. ii. 232, 258.
- Parseeism, influence of, on Judaism, II. i. 350; influence of, on Essenes, II. ii. 216; in the West, II. ii. 302.
- Parties, Jewish religious, see Chasi-



- dees, Essenes, Pharisees, Sadducees, Sicarii, Zealots.
- Parthia, Jews residing in, II. ii. 221, 222.
- Parthians, literature on the history of, I. ii. 35; campaign of Antiochus Epiphanes against, I. i. 214; of Demetrius Nicator, I. i. 268 f.; of Antiochus Sidetes, I. i. 279; campaign of Crassus, I. i. 332; raids upon Syria in Asia Minor, I. i. 333, 340, 389–395; campaigns of Antony against, I. i. 340, 402; described by Delliuss, I. i. 53; later relations with Romans, I. i. 354 f., II. 33; wars of Trajan against, I. ii. 281 f.; the Arsacidae call themselves Φαλαγγες, I. i. 292; used the Greek calendar, I. ii. 371.
- Passover to be eaten only by those who are clean, II. ii. 322; prescriptions about, in tragic poet Ezekiel, II. iii. 227; when to be celebrated, according to Aristobulus and Anatolius, II. iii. 241; I. ii. 370.
- Pater synagogae*, II. ii. 252; see Abba.
- Paternus, see Claudius Paternus.
- Patrae, Jewish inscription there, II. ii. 232.
- Patriarch, highest official over the Jews in the days of the later Roman empire, II. ii. 270; see also Ethnarch.
- Patriarchs, treatment of their history, see especially Book of Jubilees, *Testam. XII. Patr.*, and the Hellenistic writers Demetrius, Eupolemus, Artapanus, etc., also Philo and Josephus; on *Testam. XII. Patr.*, see Testaments.
- Patristian Christology in *Testam. XII. Patr.*, II. iii. 118; in Book of Baruch, II. iii. 193.
- Paul the Apostle, literature on chronology of his life, I. i. 23; home in Cilicia, see Cilicia; ἀκηροποιός, II. i. 44; his Roman citizenship, II. ii. 277; made use of Greek Bible, II. ii. 285; used the Wisdom of Solomon, II. iii. 234; persecutes the Christians, II. ii. 262; flies from Damascus, II. i. 66, 98; I. ii. 354, 357; scourged five times by the Jews, II. ii. 262; imprisonment of, I. ii. 55; trial of, I. ii. 59, 74; II. ii. 278; history and chronology of his imprisonment, I. ii. 181–185; meeting with Agrippa and Berenice, I. ii. 198; Gen. xlix. 27 applied to him by the Church Fathers and by the *Testam. XII. Patr.*, II. iii. 119, 123.
- Pea, Talmudic tract, I. i. 121.
- Pekiin, place so named, II. i. 371.
- Pella = Apamea on the Orontes, II. i. 114.
- Pella in Decapolis, II. i. 113–115; I. i. 196, 304, 307, 319, 320, 323; belonging to Decapolis, II. i. 95, 115; era and coins, II. i. 115; wrongly named among toparchies of Judea, II. i. 157; flight of Christians thither, I. ii. 230; home of Aristo, I. i. 69 f.
- Peloponnesus, Jews residing there, II. ii. 222; see also Sparta.
- Pelusian linen, II. i. 43.
- Pentecost, difference in reckoning between Pharisees and Sadducees, II. ii. 37.
- Perea, east of Jordan, mainly non-Jewish in population during the earlier part of the Maccabean age, I. i. 192; Medaba conquered by John Hyrcanus, I. i. 279; conquests of Alexander Jannäus, I. i. 297, 301, 304, 306; Machärus in possession of Jews since time of Alexander Jannäus, I. ii. 251; comp. I. i. 372; Amathus, site of a Jewish Sanhedrim, I. i. 373; Pheroras, brother of Herod, tetrarch of Perea, I. i. 409, 453; Callirrhoe visited by Herod, I. i. 463; extent and population in first Christian century, II. i. 2–4; on the boundary to the East, I. i. 304; see also Ragaba; also Ragaba Zia, II. i. 121; frontier strife of Jews of Perea with the Philadelphians, I. ii. 167; Vespasian subdues Perea, I. ii. 231; see also Ammonites, Gilead, Moabites.
- Perek schalom, Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.

- Pergamum, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221, 262; add to this: Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 22; alleged relationship of Jews and Pergamenes, I. i. 251.
- Pericopes, II. ii. 79–81.
- Peripatetics, see Aristotle.
- Periplus maris Erythraei*, I. ii. 359; II. i. 37, 44.
- Peritios, see Months.
- Persephone, worship of, in Gaza, II. i. 12; in Ptolemais, II. i. 18.
- Perseus and Andromeda in Joppa, II. i. 15.
- Perseus on coins of Ptolemais, II. i. 18.
- Persian influence upon Judaism and on the West, see Parseeism.
- Persius, satirist, on the Jews, II. ii. 306.
- Pesachim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Pesikta, I. i. 149; rabbathi, I. i. 150; sutarta, I. i. 151; new, I. i. 151.
- Peter the Apostle, I. ii. 160; *Petri et Pauli praedicatio*, II. iii. 294.
- Peter, freedman, I. ii. 152.
- Petra (the old Selah), capital of Nabateans, I. i. 316, II. 350; era of A.D. 106, I. ii. 361; called 'Αδριανή Πύρρα, I. ii. 296; capital of *Palaestina tertia*, I. ii. 362; kings of, see Nabatean Kings.
- Petronius, governor of Egypt, I. i. 407, 408.
- Petronius, P., governor of Syria, I. i. 385 f.; II. 75, 99–103, 157.
- Phabi, high priestly family, II. i. 197, 204.
- Phaena, village in Trachonitis, I. ii. 11; II. i. 156.
- Phannias, son of Samuel, high priest, II. i. 202; I. ii. 228.
- Pharaton, place so named, I. i. 236.
- Pharethothes, king of Egypt, II. iii. 206.
- Pharisees, II. ii. 1–43; \* explanation of the name, II. ii. 19; testimony of Josephus, II. ii. 2–5; testimony of the Mishna, II. ii. 5–9; attitude toward the law, II. ii. 10–12; differences in their views of the law from those of the Sadducees, II. ii. 34–38; their dogmatics, II. ii. 12–17; were Stoics, II. ii. 5, 15; their politics, II. ii. 17 f.; constituted an exclusive party within the Jewish community, II. ii. 19–26; rigid enforcement of laws of purity, II. ii. 19–26; estimate of in *Assumptio Moysis*, II. iii. 76, 80; history of the, II. ii. 25–28; John Hyrcanus abolishes the ordinances of the, I. i. 286–289; Alexandra introduces them again, I. i. 309; had among the people more weight than Sadducees, II. ii. 28, 42; had seats in the great Sanhedrim, II. i. 174.
- Pharnaces, king of Pontus, I. i. 335.
- Pharnapates, Parthian general, I. i. 341.
- Pharsalia, battle of, I. i. 335, 376.
- Phasaël, brother of Herod, I. i. 383–391.
- Phasaël, son of Herod, I. ii. 20.
- Phasaël, tower on palace of Herod, I. ii. 211, 247.
- Phasaëlis, city in Palestine II. i. 131, 132; I. i. 435, II. 7.
- Phaselis in Lycia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221.
- Pheroras, brother of Herod, I. i. 409, 415, 458, 462; tetrarch of Perea, I. i. 409–453.
- Phiala, the reputed source of the Jordan, I. ii. 14.
- Philadelphia in Palestine, II. i. 119–121; I. i. 197, II. 167; belonged to Decapolis, II. i. 95; era and coins, II. i. 120; worship there, II. i. 20; games, II. i. 25, 28.
- Philemon, comic poet, spurious verses ascribed to, II. iii. 298–301.
- Philip, son of Antiochus VIII., king of Syria, I. i. 182 f.
- Philip, son of preceding, I. i. 183.
- Philip, Syrian general, I. i. 222, 224, 226.
- Philip, son of Herod, tetrarch, I. i. 416, 456, 464; II. 2, 6 f.; reign, I. ii. 10–16, \* 335; cities founded by, I. ii. 14; II. i. 132–136; coins, I. ii. 15; was not husband of Herodias, I. ii. 22; married Salome, I. ii. 15; date of his marriage, I. ii. 28.

Philip, officer of Agrippa II., I. ii. 200, 211.

Philippi, battle of, I. i. 339, 387.

Philippus, Marcius, see Marcius.

Philo the Epic poet = Philo the elder, II. iii. 197, 222-224.

Philo the Jewish philosopher, II. iii. 321-381; \* life, II. iii. 322 f.; I. ii. 96; Greek culture, II. iii. 363; Jewish learning, II. iii. 365; historical writings, II. iii. 219-221; philosophical writings, II. iii. 243 f.; reports concerning the Essenes, II. ii. 192 f.; editions of his works, II. iii. 323-326.

His Writings in detail:—

(1) *Συγγράμματα καὶ λύσεις* (catachetical explanation of the Pentateuch), II. iii. 327-329.

(2) Allegorical commentaries on select portions of Genesis, II. iii. 329-338.

(3) Systematic exposition of the Mosaic law (i.e. of the whole contents of the Pentateuch), II. iii. 338-347.

(4) Life of Moses, II. iii. 348.

(5) *Quod omnis probus liber*, II. iii. 349.

(6) On the persecutors of the Jews (Sejanus, Flaccus, Caligula), II. iii. 349-354.

(7) *De providentia*, II. iii. 354.

(8) *Alexander s. de ratione animalium*, II. iii. 355.

(9) *Hypothetica*, II. iii. 355.

(10) *Apologia pro Judæis*, II. iii. 356.

(11) Lost treatises, II. iii. 356, 357.

(12) Non-genuine works:—

(a) *De vita contemplativa*, II. iii. 357.

(b) *De incorruptibilitate mundi*, II. iii. 359.

(c) *De mundo*, II. iii. 359.

(d) *De Sampson et Jona*, II. iii. 360.

(e) *Interpretatio Hebræorum nominum*, II. iii. 360.

(f) *Breviarium temporum*, I. i. 189; II. iii. 361.

(13) Wisdom of Solomon

ascribed to Philo, II. iii. 234.

His Doctrine:—

His general standpoint, II. iii. 363 f.; ethical interest predominant, II. iii. 330; theory of Scripture (Canon, allegorical exegesis), II. iii. 366, 367; Jewish standpoint, II. iii. 367-369; Messianic Hope, II. ii. 146-148, iii. 369; doctrine of God, II. iii. 369 f.; of intermediate beings, II. iii. 371-373; of the Logos, II. iii. 374 f.; of the creation and preservation of the world, II. iii. 376 f.; anthropology, II. iii. 377; ethics, II. iii. 378-381.

Philo Byblius, writing of, on the Jews, I. i. 74; II. iii. 304.

Philocrates, brother of Aristæas, II. iii. 307.

Philodemus of Gadara, philosopher, II. i. 29, 103.

Philosophers, Greek, who belonged to Palestine, II. i. 28 f.

Philosophy:—

(a) Palestinian-Jewish or Gnostic wisdom, II. iii. 23-32.

(b) Hellenistic-Jewish, II. iii. 228-248, 321-381.

(c) Greek, its influence on the Jewish, see Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, Stoics. The Greek philosophers derived their wisdom from Moses, II. iii. 239-241, 265, 368.

Philostephanus, Egyptian general, I. i. 296.

Philoteria, town on the Lake of Gennesaret, I. i. 196, 306.

Phineesos, see Phannias.

Phineus, worship of, in Joppa, II. i. 15.

Phocylides, didactic poet, II. iii. 313-316.

Phoenicia as taxation district during the age of the Ptolemies, I. i. 190; trade of, II. i. 37; minting of coins in, II. i. 40; see also coins, Tyre, Sidon.

Phraates, king of the Parthians, I. i. 269.

- Phrygia, Jews residing there, II. ii. 222; Jewish colonists placed there by Antiochus the Great, II. ii. 226; see also Apamea, Laodicea.
- Phylacteries, II. ii. 113.
- Pilate, see Pontius Pilate.
- Pilgrimages of Jews to Jerusalem, II. ii. 51, 290; numbers of, going to the feast, II. ii. 290.
- Pinchas, high priest, see Phannias.
- Pinchas, chief custodian of the robes, II. i. 268.
- Pirathon, place so named, see Pharaton.
- Pirke Aboth, or simply Aboth, tract of Mishna, I. i. 124; II. iii. 30.\*
- Pirke de-Rabbi Elieser, I. i. 151.
- Piso, legate of Pompey, I. i. 321.
- Piso, L., *praefectus urbi*, died A.D. 32, I. i. 360-362, II. 153.
- Piso, another *praefectus urbi* about A.D. 36, I. i. 361 f., II. 153.
- Piso, see Calpurnius.
- Pitholaus, I. i. 375.
- Placidus, I. i. 220, 231.
- Plancus, see Munacius.
- Plato, influence of his philosophy on the Jewish, II. iii. 233 f., 363 f.; *φιλωνίζει* II. iii. 364; dependent on Moses, II. iii. 240; a *Μουσῆς ἀττικίζων*, II. iii. 319.
- Plato of Gerasa, II. i. 29, 119.
- Pleiades, I. i. 275.
- Pliny the elder, had a place in the army of Titus in the war against the Jews, I. ii. 236 f.; on Moses and other magicians, II. iii. 150; on the Essenes, II. ii. 192, 193 f.
- Plough used at the founding and at the overthrow of a city, I. ii. 308.
- Plutarch, life and works, I. i. 112; on the Jews, II. ii. 295.
- Pluto, worship of, in Ptolemais, II. i. 18.
- Poetry, see Epic Poetry, Psalms, Proverbial Wisdom.
- Polemics, heathen, against the Jews, II. ii. 291-297, III. 249-262; Jewish, against the heathen, II. iii. 262-270.
- Polemon of Cilicia, I. ii. 195, 197; II. ii. 308 f.
- Polemon of Pontus, I. ii. 159.
- Polio, a Pharisee, II. i. 358; I. i. 419, 444.
- Police, see Temple Police.
- Pollio, see Asinius.
- Polybius, life and works, I. i. 111; his character of Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 199 f.
- Polygamy permitted among the Jews, I. i. 455.
- Pomaerium of the city of Rome, II. ii. 248.
- Pompeius Sextus, I. i. 343.
- Pompeius Falco, governor of Judea, I. ii. 260.
- Pompeius, Longinus, governor of Judea, I. ii. 259.
- Pompeius Trogus, see Justin.
- Pompey makes Syria a Roman province, I. i. 184, 328; frees the frontiers of Palestine from Jewish rule, I. i. 323; II. i. 61; *Πομπηνεὶς Γαδαρὶς*, II. i. 102; era of, see Era; subdues the Jews, I. i. 317-325; carries Jews away to Rome, I. i. 324; II. ii. 234; mentioned in Psalms of Solomon, II. iii. 20 f.; secures power in Rome, Triumvirate and civil wars, I. i. 328-335; death, I. i. 376.
- Pomponius, L. Flaccus, governor of Syria, I. i. 361-364, II. 153.
- Pondion*, see Dupondius.
- Pontius Pilate, I. ii. 20, 30, 78, 81-86; \* period of office, I. ii. 81 f.; character, I. ii. 83; aqueducts, I. ii. 84 f.; death according to Christian legends, I. ii. 86.
- Pontus, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221, 222, 226.
- Pontus Polemoniacus, see Polemon.
- Popilius Laenas, I. i. 205.
- Poppaea, Empress, I. i. 78, II. 183, 190, 197; II. ii. 238, 308.
- Population of Palestine in time of Christ, II. i. 1-8.
- Porcius Festus, procurator, I. ii. 183-187, 196.
- Porphyry on the history of the Seleucidae, I. i. 170 f.; on the Essenes, II. ii. 201; on the Egyptian priests, II. iii. 255.
- Porto, near Rome, Jews residing there, II. ii. 240.

Poseidon, worship in Ascalon, II. i. 14; in Caesarea, II. i. 17.  
 Posidonius, historian, I. i. 47-50; against the Jews, II. iii. 262.  
*Potestas gladii*, I. ii. 57.  
 Predestination, see Providence.  
*Prædicatio Petri et Pauli*, II. iii. 294.  
*Præfectus* as title, I. ii. 45 f.  
*Praeses* as title, I. ii. 46.  
 Praetorian rank of Roman vassal kings, I. i. 450, II. ii. 153, 203, 342.  
 Pretorium at Jerusalem, I. ii. 48; see also Palaces.  
 Prayer, casuistical revolutions regarding, II. ii. 115-118; washing of hands before, II. ii. 70, Index vol. p. 93; not necessarily in Hebrew, II. i. 10, II. ii. 284; straps (Tephillin, Phylacteries), II. ii. 113; standing at, and looking to Jerusalem, II. ii. 78; looking not to sun, but to temple, II. ii. 214; spitting not in front or to the right during prayer, II. ii. 211; the three hours of prayer, II. i. 290; Shema (for morning and evening), see Shema; Shemoneh Esreh, thrice a day, see Shemoneh; at table, II. ii. 17; in synagogue, II. ii. 78; see also Musaph-prayer; public prayer in open places, specially on sea-shore, II. ii. 72; prayer and offerings for heathen rulers, I. ii. 76 f.; II. i. 302 f., III. 191; Onias' wonderful power in, I. i. 316; of deceased saints for the people, II. iii. 214.  
 Prayer of Azariah and song of the Three Youths in the furnace, II. iii. 183 f.  
 Prayer of Joseph, apocryphal writing, II. iii. 127-129.  
 Prayer of Manasseh, II. iii. 188.  
 Preaching in the synagogues, II. ii. 82.  
 Precepts of Noah, II. ii. 318.  
 Pre-existence of the Messiah, II. ii. 161; of the soul according to Wisdom of Solomon, II. iii. 233 f.; according to Philo, II. iii. 377; according to the Essenes, II. ii. 205; of the law according to Book of Jubilees, II. iii. 137.

Presbyters, see Elders.

Priests, the Jewish generally, II. i. 207-305.

- (1) The priesthood as a distinct order, II. i. 207-229; pedigrees, II. i. 210; marriages, II. i. 210-213; purity, II. i. 213 f.; freedom from physical defect, II. i. 214 f.; age for beginning service, II. i. 214 f.; consecration, II. i. 215; twenty-four courses, II. i. 216-221; heads of these, II. i. 221.
- (2) Emoluments, II. i. 230-254; gifts from the offerings, II. i. 230 f.; from first-fruits of the field, II. i. 235, 236; from the sacrificial victims, II. i. 237-245; first-born of man, II. i. 243; revenues from general offerings, II. i. 245 f.; gifts for maintenance of worship, II. i. 249-254.
- (3) The various functions of the priesthood, II. i. 254-273; the high priest, II. i. 254 f.; see also article High Priest; captain of the temple (Segan), II. i. 257-259; treasurers, II. i. 260-264; temple-police, II. i. 264-268; officials conducting the worship, II. i. 268-273.
- (4) The daily service, II. i. 273-299; the several courses relieve one another, II. i. 273 f.; official robes for service, II. i. 276 f.; these remained in temple, II. i. 260, 268; use of wine forbidden during period of service, II. i. 278; washings, II. i. 278; priest's benediction in the temple, II. i. 296, II. ii. 82; in the synagogue, II. ii. 82; could be uttered only in Hebrew, II. i. 10, II. ii. 284.
- (5) Other details:  
 Their political attitude, I. i. 188; II. i. 165, 171 (the *ἱερεῖς* as third category along with *ἀρχιερεῖς* and *νεποσώια*); position in Sanhedrim, II. i. 174-184; distinguished priests constituted the Jewish aris-

- tocracy, II. ii. 41-43; precedence generally, II. iii. 1; precedence over princes according to *Testam. XII. Patr.*, II. iii. 119; chief place in synagogue services, II. ii. 79; relations with the scribes, II. i. 208, 230, 313, 321; position after destruction of the temple, I. ii. 271-273; priests in temple at Leontopolis, II. ii. 288; priests of the Essenes, II. ii. 203.
- Priests, Egyptian, II. iii. 249.
- Privileges of the Jews, II. ii. 263 f.
- Pro praetore*, see *Legatus Augusti*.
- Proconsules* = Governors of the Senatorial provinces, I. i. 347 f.
- Procurator* as title of Governor of Equestrian rank, I. ii. 45; had the *jus gladii*, I. ii. 46; finance, I. ii. 46, 69, 118 f.
- Procuratores ad census accipiendos*, I. ii. 118 f., 140.
- Procurators of Judea, legal position during the term of office, I. ii. 44-79; subordinate to the governor of Syria, I. ii. 46 f.; residence of, I. ii. 48; military command, I. ii. 49-57; authority, *jus gladii*, I. ii. 57-65; finance administration, I. ii. 65-71; history of the, I. ii. 79-105, 166-191; coins, I. ii. 77.
- Products of Palestine, II. i. 41 f.
- Propaganda, Jewish, II. iii. 262-270.
- Prophets, the nature of their work according to Philo, II. iii. 366 f.; ecstasy of, II. iii. 380; Cleodemus or Malchus ὁ προφήτης, II. iii. 209; Theudas, προφήτης ἐλεγεν εἶναι, I. ii. 168; Josephus as a prophet, I. i. 79, II. ii. 223; the Egyptian προφήτης εἶναι λόγων, I. ii. 180; gift prophetic among Essenes, II. ii. 204; pseudographs prophetic, II. iii. 44-133; *προφηταὶ* among Egyptian priests, II. iii. 255.
- Prosbul, II. i. 32, 362 f.
- Proselytes, II. ii. 291-327; literature about them, II. ii. 304 f.; great number and wide spread, II. ii. 304-311; various grades, II. ii. 311-319; designations (φοβούμενοι, σεβόμενοι, *gerim*, προσήλυτοι, II. ii. 315; of the gate, and of righteousness, II. ii. 316-319; rites of initiation and admission, II. ii. 319-324; baptism of, II. ii. 321-324; obligations and rights of, II. ii. 324-327.
- Proseuche = Synagogue, II. ii. 68-73.
- Proverbial wisdom, II. iii. 23-32.
- Providence, doctrine of among Pharisees and Sadducees, II. ii. 13-17; among the Essenes, II. ii. 202; in pseudo-Orpheus, II. iii. 298; in Philo *de providentia*, II. iii. 354 f.
- Provinces, Roman, enactments of Augustus regarding the, I. i. 347, II. 45; literature on constitution of the, I. i. 327, II. 45.
- Provocatio*, Roman, II. ii. 278.
- Psalms: the seven-week Psalms, II. i. 291; of the Maccabean age, II. iii. 15-17; of Solomon, II. iii. 17-23.
- Psalter, stringed instrument, II. i. 272.
- \*Psammeticus, king of Egypt, II. ii. 227.
- Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum, see Jonathan.
- Pseudonymous literature, see Literature.
- Psychology of the Pharisees, II. ii. 13; of the Essenes, II. i. 205; of the Wisdom of Solomon, II. iii. 233 f.; of Philo, II. iii. 377 f.; see also Intermediate State, Resurrection.
- Ptolemais = Akko, Ake, city, I. i.; II. i. 90-94; Ἀντιοχείς ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι, II. i. 92; eras of, II. i. 91, 94; coins, II. i. 91, 93, 94; worship, II. i. 18; birth of Aphrodite at, II. i. 18; gymnasium, II. i. 27; Jews residing there, II. i. 94.
- Ptolemy I. Lagus, II. ii. 228.
- Ptolemy II. Philadelphus takes permanent possession of Palestine, II. i. 59; cities founded by, in Palestine, see Philadelphia, II. i. 119; Philoteria, I. i. 196; Ptolemais, II. i. 91 f.; causes Penta-teuch to be translated into Greek, II. iii. 160, 306.

Ptolemy III. Euergetes, II. i. 60 ; sacrifices in Jerusalem, II. i. 301.  
 Ptolemy IV. Philopater, II. ii. 257, iii. 216.  
 Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, II. i. 60.  
 Ptolemy VI. Philometor interferes in Syrian affairs, I. i. 240, 242, 244 ; his death, I. i. 245 ; had Jewish generals, II. ii. 279 ; allows building of Jewish temple at Leontopolis, II. ii. 286 ; Aristobulus dedicates to him his book on the Mosaic law, II. iii. 237.  
 Ptolemy VII. Physcon, I. i. 280 ; II. ii. 256, iii. 26, 217, 280.  
 Ptolemy VIII. Lathurus, I. i. 284, 296, 297 ; II. i. 93.  
 Ptolemy Auletes, I. i. 331.  
 Ptolemy, son of Antony and Cleopatra, I. i. 344.  
 Ptolemy, general of Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 214.  
 Ptolemy, son-in-law of Simon the Maccabee, I. i. 271, 275.  
 Ptolemy Mennäus, ruler of Chalcis, I. i. 387, ii. 328, 329-331 ; coins, I. ii. 331.  
 Ptolemy, brother of Nicolas of Damascus, I. i. 441.  
 Ptolemy, finance minister of Herod, I. i. 441.  
 Ptolemy, author of a work *περί Ἡρώδου* (probably = Ptolemy of Ascalon), I. i. 57, 58.  
 Ptolemy of Ascalon, grammarian, II. i. 28 ; probably author of *περί Ἡρώδου*, I. i. 57, 58.  
 Ptolemy, Mendesius, writer, II. iii. 260.  
*Publicani*, I. ii. 67-69.  
 Public schools among the Jews, II. ii. 47-52.  
 Publicans regarded as no better than robbers, I. ii. 71.  
 Publicius Marcellus, governor of Syria, I. i. 263, 304.  
 Purifications in heathen religious services, II. ii. 303.  
 Purim, feast of, I. i. 370.  
 Purple dyeing, industry at Sarepta, Caesarea, Neapolis, Lydda, II. i. 41, 42.  
 Puteoli, Jews residing there, II. ii. 241 ; *Τύριοι* and *Berytenses* there,

II. ii. 253 ; a merchant from Ascalon there, I. i. 315 ; Nabatean inscriptions, I. ii. 346, 356, 358.  
 Pythagoras borrows from Jews and Thracians, II. iii. 318 ; dependent on Moses, II. iii. 240.  
 Pythagoreanism, influence of, on the Essenes, II. ii. 216 f. ; on Philo, II. iii. 364.

## Q

*Quadrans*, II. i. 40.  
*Quadratus*, see Ummidius Quadratus.  
*Quasten*, see Zizith.  
*Quietus*, see Lusius Quietus.  
*Quintilius*, P. Varus, I. i. 351, 462, ii. 2, 5 ; mentioned in *Assumptio Mosis*, II. iii. 76 ; *Polemos shel Varos*, I. ii. 5.  
*Quirinius*, see Sulpicius Quirinius.

## R

Rabba of the Ammonites = Philadelpia, II. i. 119.  
 Rabbatamana, II. i. 119.  
 Rabbi, title, II. i. 315 ; *duo rebbites* in Venosa, II. ii. 269.  
 Rabbi = R. Judah ha-Nasi, see Judah.  
 Rabbinical literature, I. i. 117-166 ; lexicons and grammars, I. i. 138 f.  
 Rabbis, see Scribes.  
 Rabboth, Midrashim, I. i. 145-153.  
 Rabel, Rabilus, Arabian king, I. ii. 360 f. ; an older king of same name, I. ii. 352.  
 Ragaba, fortress, I. i. 304.  
 Raguel in Book of Tobit, II. iii. 37 f.  
 Rahab, II. i. 344.  
 Ramathaim (Rama) down to B.C. 145 belonging to Samaria, subsequently part of Judea, I. i. 190, 191, 245 f. ; situation of, I. i. 246.  
 Rammius, Martialis, governor of Egypt, I. ii. 282.  
 Raphael in Book of Tobit, II. iii. 38.  
 Raphana = Raphon, city, II. i. 105 ; belonging to Decapolis, II. i. 95.

- Raphanea in Syria, II. i. 106.  
 Raphia, II. i. 66 f.; I. i. 298, 306, 323; coins and era, II. i. 67; worship, II. i. 12.  
 Ravenna, Jews residing there, II. ii. 242.  
 Reading, instruction in, II. ii. 47 f.; desk in synagogue, II. ii. 75; of Scripture in synagogue worship, II. ii. 76, 79–81.  
 Regeb, I. i. 305.  
*Reges socii*, legal standing of, I. i. 448–451, II. 122–127.  
 Rekem, proselytes living there, II. ii. 326.  
*Religio licita*, II. ii. 260, 268.  
 Religions, heathen, in Palestine, II. i. 11–23; Oriental in the West, II. 300–303; blending of, see Syncretism.  
*Reliqua verborum Baruchi*, II. iii. 92.  
 Repentance as necessary, preparation for coming of Messiah, II. ii. 163; for want of it he is still concealed, II. ii. 164.  
 Resurrection, belief in doctrine of, among Pharisees, II. ii. 13; of the righteous, II. ii. 174; general, II. ii. 179–181; see also Immortality.  
 Retribution, doctrine of, II. ii. 91–93, 301; according to Philo, II. iii. 347.  
 Revelation according to Philo, II. iii. 366, 368; see Canon, Law, Prophets, Scripture.  
 Rewards as chief motive in Jewish legislation, II. ii. 91–93.  
 Rhodes, Jews residing in, II. ii. 221; Apollonius Molon residing there writes against them, II. iii. 252; buildings of Herod there, I. i. 437.  
 Rinokorura, I. i. 306.  
 Rome, Oriental forms of worship there, II. ii. 301 f.; foreign religions down to the second Christian century allowed only outside of the *pomaerium*, II. ii. 248, 260; Jews residing there, II. ii. 232–241; number of Jews there in time of Augustus, II. ii. 235; their expulsion in time of Tiberius, II. ii. 235; their expulsion in time of Claudius, II. ii. 237; relation of Jews with imperial court, II. ii. 238; dwelling and burying-places of Jews, II. ii. 239, 240; sepulchral inscriptions, I. i. 31–34; constitution of Jews in, II. ii. 246–252; synagogues of Jews in, II. ii. 74, 247, 260, 283; protection of Jews there by Augustus, II. ii. 260; have civil rights of freedmen, II. ii. 276; Jews there send gifts to Jerusalem, II. ii. 288; journey of four famous scribes to Rome, II. i. 370; “God fearing” (proselytes) in Rome, II. ii. 308; Christians in, see Flavius Clemens.  
 Roma, worship of, in connection with that of Augustus, II. i. 16.  
 Romans, their relations with the Jews before Pompey :  
     (a) Under Judas, I. i. 231.  
     (b) Under Jonathan, I. i. 249.  
     (c) Under Simon, I. i. 266–268; II. ii. 233.  
     (d) Under John Hyrcanus, I. i. 277.  
 Roman supremacy in Judea in the time of the Procurators :  
     (a) The administration of law, I. ii. 43–79.  
     (b) History, I. ii. 79–105, 166–191.  
 Roman emperor and people, offerings for, at temple of Jerusalem, II. i. 302.  
 Roman citizens in Jerusalem are subject to the temple law, I. ii. 74; II. i. 188 f., 265 f.; see also Heathens.  
 Roman senate, decrees of, and other edicts in favour of the Jews, I. i. 90 f., 109, 266, 277, 378, 388, II. 168; II. ii. 257 ff., 275.  
 Roman citizenship of Jews, II. ii. 276–279; equestrian rank of Jews, II. ii. 281.  
 Roman writers, their estimate of Judaism, II. ii. 291–297.  
 Romans understood by the Rabbis to be meant by the “Edomites” of the Bible, II. iii. 99.  
 Romulus = Armilus, the Antichrist, II. ii. 165; see Index vol. p. 94.



Rosh beth-din, II. i. 184.  
 Rosh Hashana, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.  
 Rufinus, reputed translator of Josephus, I. i. 99 f.  
 Rufus, officer of Herod, I. ii. 51.  
 Rufus, see Annianus Rufus, Cluvius Rufus, Tineius Rufus.  
 Ruth, Midrash on, I. i. 148.  
 Rutilius Lupus, governor of Egypt, I. ii. 281 f.

## S

Sabaoth as name of God, II. ii. 234.  
 Sabazius, II. ii. 233 f., 300.  
 Sabbath :

- (1) Offerings in temple, II. i. 291, ii. 103; synagogue services, II. ii. 75-83, 282; afternoon service in synagogue, II. ii. 83; prayer on, see Musaph-prayer and Shemoneh Esreh; lights kindled on, II. ii. 306; not a fast day as many Romans wrongly supposed, I. i. 322, 323, 398 f.; beginning and end of proclaimed by trumpets, II. i. 273, ii. 75; Habbala, form of prayer for close of, II. ii. 88.
- (2) Strict observance of Sabbath rest, II. ii. 96-105; by the Essenes, II. ii. 199, 209; evasion of law, II. ii. 120-122; no court held on Sabbath, II. ii. 190; Jews not required to appear before heathen tribunal, II. ii. 265; no battle except in case of need, II. ii. 105; Jerusalem taken on Sabbath by Pompey, Herod, and Titus (?), I. i. 322 f., 398, ii. 244 (Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 16, xlix. 22, lxi. 7); also by Ptolemy Lagus, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 1, c. *Apion*, i. 22 *fin.*
- (3) Sabbath festival of Jews in the Dispersion protected by magistrates, II. ii. 258 f., 265, 283.
- (4) Value and significance of the Sabbath according to Aristobulus, II. iii. 240, 270; according to Philo, II. iii. 269; verses of Hesiod, Homer, and Linus on, II. iii. 302.

(5) Heathen opinions about the Sabbath festival (Tacitus, Juvenal), II. ii. 295, iii. 269 f.  
 (6) Observance of Sabbath festival forbidden by Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 207; alleged also to have been done by Hadrian, I. ii. 318.  
 Sabbath day's journey, II. ii. 102, 120-122; limits fixed at Geser (?), I. i. 261 f.  
 Sabbatical year, reading of Deuteronomy during, I. ii. 157; escape from prosecution for debt during, set aside by Hillel, II. i. 362 f.; heathen opinions about, II. ii. 295; I. i. 42; historical witnesses for the, I. i. 41-43, 224, 274.  
 Sabbe, a Sibyl, II. iii. 273.  
 Sabim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.  
 Sabinus Procurator, I. ii. 3, 4, 5.  
 Sabinus, Syrian soldier, I. ii. 242.  
 Sacrifices, see Offerings.  
 Sacrificial feasts, II. i. 231, 236, 240; *συνδαιπνια* of Jews allowed by Caesar, II. ii. 258; of the Essenes, II. ii. 200.  
 Sadducees, II. ii. 1, 43; explanation of name, II. ii. 31-34; testimony of Josephus, II. ii. 2-5; testimony of the Mishna, II. ii. 5-8; formed the party of the priestly aristocracy, II. ii. 29-34; attitude toward the law, II. ii. 34-38; *in praxi* followed the Pharisees, II. ii. 28, 42; detailed differences in theory of law between them and Pharisees, II. ii. 35-38; put on same level as Samaritans, II. i. 8; scribes of party of, II. i. 319 f.; their dogmatics, II. ii. 38 f.; origin and history, II. ii. 39-43; John Hyrcanus on side of, I. i. 286-290; position in the Sanhedrim during the Roman period, II. i. 174; overthrow of, I. ii. 272.  
 Sadduk = Zadok, II. ii. 31, 33.  
 Sadduk, Pharisee, I. ii. 80; II. ii. 31, 32.

Safforine, see Sepphoris.

Sagan or Segan, captain of temple, II. i. 257-259.

Sagum, II. i. 44.

Salamis in Cyprus, destroyed by rebel Jews, I. ii. 284; see Cyprus.

Salampso, daughter of Herod, I. i. 455.

Salina, see Alexandra.

Salkhat, place so named, I. ii. 13.

Salome Alexandra, see Alexandra.

Salome, sister of Herod, I. i. 422, 429, 431, 456, 457, 461, II. 7, 9; first husband Joseph, I. i. 422; second husband Costobar, I. i. 431; her daughter Berenice, I. i. 456; held certain towns in Palestine, I. ii. 7, II. i. 62; death, I. ii. 8, 9.

Salome, daughter of Herodias, wife of tetrarch Philip, I. ii. 15, 22, 27; afterwards married Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, I. ii. 342.

Salvidenus, governor of Judea, I. ii. 259.

Samaria=Sebaste, city, II. i. 123-127; \* Alexander the Great settled Macedonians there, I. i. 196; II. i. 123; destroyed by John Hyrcanus, I. i. 283; delivered by Pompey, I. i. 323; given to Herod, I. i. 404, 428; rebuilt by Herod, I. i. 434, II. i. 125; era and date of rebuilding by Herod, I. i. 405 f.; II. i. 125; coins, II. i. 125; worship, II. i. 22.

Samaria, district of country, taxation district in time of Ptolemais, I. i. 190 f.; conquest by John Hyrcanus, I. i. 280; further history, see Samaria (city) and Samaritans.

Samaritan, *σάμαρι*, Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramathaim joined to Judea in B.C. 145, I. i. 190, 191, 245.

Samaritans, II. i. 5-8; literature about, II. i. 5 f.; are Jews though heterodox, II. i. 2, 5; relation of Pharisaic Judaism to them, II. i. 8; on the history of the, I. ii. 87, 172, 173; their synagogue at Neapolis, II. ii. 72; Hellenistic

writers from among the, II. iii. 211, 225; in Egypt, II. ii. 230; in Rome, II. ii. 241.

Sambethe, a Sibyl, II. ii. 69, iii. 273.

Sameas, a Pharisee, II. i. 358; I. i. 384, 420, 444; see also Shemaiah.

Samos, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221.

Samosata, I. i. 341, 395.

Sampsame, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221.

Sampseans, II. ii. 213.

Sampsigeram of Emesa in time of Pompey, I. i. 184; another in time of Claudius, I. ii. 159.

Samuel the little, interpolates the birkath ha-minim into the Shemoneh Esreh, II. ii. 88.

Samuel, Mar, in Nehardea, I. ii. 372.

Sanballat, II. i. 7.

Sandala, II. i. 44.

Sanhedrim, the Great, II. i. 163-195.

(1) History, II. i. 165-173; five Sanhedrims of Gabinius, I. i. 372; II. i. 168 f.; court of Jamnia after destruction of Jerusalem, I. ii. 275-277.

(2) Its composition, II. i. 174-184; number of members, II. i. 175; sending out of the *δύναμεις*, II. i. 179; presidency, II. i. 180-184.

(3) Its jurisdiction, II. i. 184-190; limited the power of Roman procurators, II. i. 187-190.

(4) Time and place of meeting, II. i. 190-193; see also Lishkath hagasith; legendary account of the transference of place of meeting to the *Chanuth*, II. i. 192.

(5) Judicial procedure, II. i. 193-195.

Sanhedrin, Talmudic tract, I. i. 123.

סנהדרין, use of word, II. i. 32, 169, 172.

Sanherib, chronology according to Demetrius, II. iii. 202.

Saphin, see Zophim.

Saphorim, Saponi, Sapphuri, see Sepphoris.

Sarah in Book of Tobit, II. iii. 37.  
Sarah, a female proselyte, II. ii. 308.

Saramel, I. i. 265.

Sardis, Jews residing there, II. ii. 258, 263; Jews in, have citizenship, II. ii. 273; the Roman citizenship, II. ii. 277; see also Lydia.

Sarepta, purple dyeing at, II. i. 41.  
Sarcophagus, Jewish, inscriptions on, I. i. 31 f.

Sattu, family of, II. i. 252.

Saturninus, see Sentius Saturninus, Volusius Saturninus.

Saul, relative of Agrippa II., I. ii. 189.

Saul, see Abba Saul.

Sauromates, king of the Bosphorus, I. ii. 162.

Saxa, see Decidius Saxa.

Scaurus, see Aemilius Scaurus.

Sceva or Skeuas, high priest, II. i. 203.

Scholars of the learned, II. i. 323 ff.

Schools, high, of scribes, II. i. 323-326; elementary, II. ii. 47-52.

Scipio, see Metellus Scipio.

Scodra, I. i. 340.

Scutella, II. i. 45.

Scopus, the so-called, in Jerusalem, I. ii. 213.

Scourging of Roman citizens not allowed, II. ii. 278.

Scribes, II. i. 306-379; names, titles, respect, II. i. 313-317; labours of, gratuitous, II. i. 317-319.

Chief functions :

(a) The careful development of the law and its systematization, II. i. 320-323, 330-339; I. ii. 275.

(b) Teaching the law, II. i. 323-326.

(c) Giving sentence in court, II. i. 326, 327; in the great Sanhedrim, II. i. 178; after the destruction of Jerusalem, I. ii. 275-277.

(d) As theologians, II. i. 327, 328, 329-350.

relations with the high priests, II. i. 208, 230, 313 f., 321; the most

celebrated down to A.D. 130, II. i. 351-379.

Scriptures, the Holy, their canonical dignity, II. i. 306-312; Philo's view of, II. iii. 366; how numbered, II. i. 308; miraculous restoration of, by Ezra, II. iii. 109; touching them defiles the hands, II. i. 309, II. 5, 36; formulae of quotation in Mishna, II. i. 311 f.; copies in possession of private individuals, I. i. 207 f.; II. ii. 50; copies kept in the synagogues, II. i. 74; malicious tearing of, punished by Roman courts, I. ii. 75, 172; exegesis of, see Haggada, Halachah, Midrash; exegesis of, by Philo, II. iii. 367; fourfold sense of, II. ii. 348; reading of, in public worship, II. ii. 79-81; reading of, in Greek language, II. ii. 81, 283 f.; reading of Book of Baruch on 10th Gorpaios, II. iii. 193.

Scylax, geographer, II. i. 80.

Scythians in Palestine, II. i. 110 f.

Scythopolis = Beth-sean, II. i. 110-113; \* I. i. 196, 253, 283, 320, 323; belonging to Decapolis, II. i. 95; era, II. i. 111, 112; worship, II. i. 196; coins, II. i. 111, 112; games, II. i. 25, 27; linen industry, II. i. 42; linguistic affinities (Greek unknown among people), II. ii. 82; Jews residing in, II. i. 113; see also Beth-sean.

Sea-fight represented in the amphitheatre at Gadara, II. i. 28, 104.

Sebachim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 124.

Sebasamia in Damascus, II. i. 27.

Sebastes, see Samaria.

Sebastean troops (an *ala* and five *cohortes Sebastenorum*), I. ii. 51, 53; II. i. 65.

Sebastini in the Jewish Sibyllines, II. iii. 284.

Σεβαστός = Augustus.

Sebastos, harbour for Caesarea, II. i. 85.

Sebonitis, II. i. 129.

Secundus, see Aemilius.

Seder Olam rabba, I. i. 164; on the war of Varus, I. ii. 5; on the war

- of Quietus, I. ii. 286; on the reign of Ben-Cosiba, I. ii. 311, 312.
- Seder Olam sutta, I. ii. 164.
- Segan, see Sagan.
- Sejanus, enemy of the Jews, I. ii. 21, 86; occasions their expulsion from Rome, II. ii. 236; writing of Philo about him, II. iii. 349-352, see Index vol. pp. 97-99.
- Sela = Petra, see Petra.
- Scelene, daughter of Cleopatra, wife of Antiochus VIII. Grypos, II. i. 93.
- Seleucia in Palestine, on the Merom lake, I. i. 304.
- Seleucia = Abila, II. i. 105.
- Seleucia = Gadara, II. i. 103.
- Seleucidæ, sketch of their history, I. i. 169-185; genealogy, I. ii. 399; coins, I. i. 23 f.; era of, I. ii. 393; whether Josephus wrote a history of the, I. i. 95.
- Seleucus I., cities founded by, II. i. 114; gives Jews citizenship in cities founded by him, II. ii. 271.
- Seleucus IV. Philopater, I. i. 172.
- Seleucus V., duration of reign, I. i. 179.
- Seleucus VI., duration of reign, I. i. 181.
- Sella* of the judge, I. ii. 15.
- Semachoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.
- Semaiah, see Shemaiah.
- Semis =  $\frac{1}{2}$  as, II. i. 40.
- Senaa, family of, II. i. 252.
- Senate, decrees of Roman, in Josephus, I. i. 90, 109, 267, 277, 379; II. ii. 258; decrees of, kept in Capitol, I. i. 90.
- Seneca on the Jews, II. ii. 306, 307.
- Sennabris, village, I. ii. 90.
- Sentius, C., Saturninus, in time of Augustus, I. i. 350, 459, 461.
- Sentius, Cn., Saturninus, in time of Tiberius, I. i. 359.
- Sepharvaim, district of country, heathen colonists from it to Samaria, II. i. 5.
- Sephela = lowlands, I. i. 251 f.
- Sepher Thorah, Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.
- Sepphoris, city, II. i. 136-141; \* I. i. 296, 372 f., II. 4, 18; destruction of, by Varus, and rebuilding by Herod Antipas, II. i. 137, 138; its acropolis, II. i. 139; coins, II. i. 137, 140; capital of Galilee, II. i. 139; allegiance to Romans during war of A.D. 66-70, II. i. 139; I. ii. 215, 219; subsequently called Diocaesarea, II. i. 140.
- Septimius Severus, emperor, forbids conversion to Judaism, II. ii. 268.
- Septuagint, II. iii. 159-168; origin of, II. iii. 159-162; esteem in which it was held, II. iii. 163; history of text, II. iii. 164-166; manuscripts, editions, and literature, II. iii. 166-168; used by Josephus, I. i. 85, 108; used in public services, II. ii. 283-286; Epistle of Aristeas about origin of, II. iii. 306-312; annual festival in Alexandria in honour of the translation, see Festivals.
- Serapis, worship of, in Caesarea, II. i. 17; in Ptolemais, II. i. 18; in Neapolis, I. ii. 267; in Aelia Capitolina, I. ii. 317; in Greece, II. ii. 300; in Rome, II. ii. 301.
- Seron, Syrian general, I. i. 214.
- Sertorius Macro, see Naevius.
- Severus, see Julius.
- Seven men constituted a local court of justice, II. i. 152 f.
- Seventy (71, 72) elders, II. i. 174 f., 186, 370; or 72 translators of Pentateuch, II. iii. 159, 307; languages and peoples, II. i. 344; angels of the Gentile nations, II. iii. 64 f.; palm trees at Elim, II. iii. 227.
- Sextus, see Caesar, Cerealis, Pompeius.
- Shabbath, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Shammai, II. i. 180, 324, 353, 359-362; whether = Sameas? II. i. 359; Sammai, according to Jerome = dissipator, I. i. 119; school of, see Hillel.
- Shebat, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.
- Shebiith, Talmudic tract, I. i. 121.
- Shebuoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 123.
- Shechem, city, its history poetically described by Theodotus, II. iii. 224 f.; conquered by John Hyrcanus, I. i. 279; Alexander Jannæus defeated near, I. i. 302.

- Sheep-shearing dues for the priest, II. i. 245.
- Shekalim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Shekel, Hebrew or Phoenician, II. i. 244, 250; coins, I. i. 257, 258; II. 379-383; see Didrachmae Tax.
- Shemah, II. ii. 77, 84 f.; decrees of Mishna, II. ii. 84; casuistical treatment of, II. ii. 115; repeated before sundown, II. ii. 115, 213; not necessarily recited in Hebrew, II. i. 10, II. 284; Palmyrene inscription with beginning of, edited by Landauer, I. i. 31.
- Shemaiah, Pharisee, II. i. 180, 183, 353, 358.
- Shemoneh Esreh, II. ii. 77, 85-87; date of composition, II. ii. 87 f.; prayer against heretics, II. ii. 88 f.; Messianic Hope, II. ii. 168; as used on Sabbath, II. ii. 77; not necessarily in Hebrew, II. i. 10, II. 284.
- Shemoth rabba, I. i. 148.
- Shewbread, II. i. 235; prepared by the family of Garmu, II. i. 268.
- Shir hashirim rabba, I. i. 148.
- Shoes, see Sandals.
- Σιβαρρηνοί*, Jewish communities in Rome, II. ii. 248.
- Sibylline Oracles, II. iii. 271-292; the Sibyllines as female prophets, number and names, II. iii. 271 f.; written oracles in Asia Minor and Greece, II. iii. 273; in Rome, II. iii. 274; Jewish and Christian, II. iii. 275; contents and date of composition of extant books, II. iii. 275-288; of 3rd Book, II. iii. 283; of 4th Book, II. iii. 284; of 5th Book, II. iii. 286; Messianic Hope in the, II. ii. 139-141; use of 3rd Book in Alexander Polyhistor, II. iii. 199, 282, 288; use of all the books in Christian Church, II. iii. 288; editions and literature, II. iii. 290-292; in 2nd Book a passage from Phocylides, II. iii. 314.
- Sicarii*, I. ii. 178, 179, 185, 189, 251.
- Side, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221; see also Pamphylia.
- Sidetes, cognomen of Antiochus VII., I. i. 177.
- Sidon, buildings of Herod at, I. i. 437; era, II. i. 60; calendar, II. i. 72; glass making, II. i. 45; see also Phoenicia, Eshmunazar, Straton.
- Sifra, see Siphra.
- Sifre, see Siphre.
- Sikimios, founder of Shechem, II. iii. 225.
- Sikyon, Jews residing there, II. ii. 221; see also Peloponnesus.
- Silanus, see Caecilius.
- Silas, tyrant of Lysias, I. i. 319.
- Silas, general of Agrippa I., I. ii. 158.
- Silbonitis, textual error for Sebonitis, II. i. 129.
- Silenus on coins of Damascus, II. i. 19.
- Silo, lieutenant of Ventidius, I. i. 394.
- Silva, see Flavius Silva.
- Simchoth, see Semachoth.
- Simeon haddarshan, I. i. 153.
- Simeon Kara, I. i. 153.
- Simon. (1) Priests:  
 Simon I. the Just, high priest, I. i. 188; II. i. 352, 355, III. 26.  
 Simon II., high priest, I. i. 188; referred to by Jesus Sirach, II. iii. 26.  
 Simon the Maccabee, I. i. 209, 212, 220, 235, 238; appointed military commander, I. i. 248; conquers Bethzur, I. i. 249; garrisoned Joppa and Adida, I. i. 251; when Jonathan was taken prisoner people make Simon leader, I. i. 254; his reign as high priest and prince, I. i. 255-271; era, according to years of Simon's reign, I. i. 257; coins (?), I. i. 257, 378-383; title, I. i. 265; hereditary high priest and prince, I. i. 265 f.; embassy to Rome, I. i. 266-268; II. ii. 233; death, I. i. 271.  
 Simon, son of Boethus, high priest, II. i. 197; I. i. 455.  
 Simon, son of Kamithos, high priest, II. i. 199.  
 Simon Kantheras, son of Boethus, II. i. 199.  
 Simon *ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, II. i. 203.

- Simon the Stammerer, forefather of Josephus, I. i. 81.
- (2) Rabbis:
- Simon ben Shetach, I. i. 298-300, 310, 311, 384; II. i. 180, 353, 356, 357, II. 49.
- Simon, reputed son of Hillel, II. i. 363; I. ii. 158.
- Simon, son of Gamaliel I. (Rabban?), I. ii. 228; II. i. 354, 357, 365; not president of Sanhedrim, II. i. 183.
- Simon, son of Gamaliel II. Rabban, I. i. 127; II. i. 354.
- Simon ben Nathanael, R., II. i. 367.
- Simon ben Asai, R., I. i. 127; II. i. 377.
- Simon ben Nannos, R., I. i. 127; II. i. 378.
- Simon (ben Jochai), R., more than 300 times quoted in Mishna, I. i. 127; was a hearer of Akiba, I. i. 128; reports about his teacher Akiba, I. ii. 298; sayings of, II. ii. 44, 45.
- (3) Others:
- Simon, leader in rebellion of B.C. 4, I. ii. 4.
- Simon, an Essene in the time of Archelaus, II. ii. 205.
- Simon, a Pharisee in the time of Agrippa I., I. ii. 158.
- Simon, son of Judas of Galilee, I. ii. 81, 170.
- Simon, a magician from Cyprus, I. ii. 177.
- Simon bar Giora, I. ii. 232-247, 249 f.; Giora = proselyte, II. ii. 315.
- Simon bar - Cochba, see Bar-Cochba.
- Simon the cotton dealer arranged the Shemoneh Esreh, II. ii. 88.
- Simonides Agrippa, son of Josephus, I. i. 82.
- Sin-offering, II. i. 279; gifts thereof to priests, II. i. 232, 235; on festivals, II. i. 297.
- Siphra, I. i. 145-147.
- Siphre, I. i. 145-147; II. i. 374.
- Siphre suta, I. i. 147.
- Sirach, see Jesus Sirach.
- Sitiffs in Mauritania, Jewish inscriptions there, II. ii. 232.
- Sivan, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.
- Slavery repudiated by the Essenes, II. ii. 198; laws relating to, collected in tract Abadim, I. i. 144.
- Smyrna, home of Alexander Balas, I. i. 240; Jews residing there, II. ii. 63. Add to this: *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 9897; *Martyrium Polycarpi*, c. 12-13, 17-18; *Vita Polycarpi auctore Pionio*, ed. Duchesne, 1881; and on these: *Revue des études juives*, xi. 1885, p. 235 sqq.
- Soaemus, see Soemus.
- Socrates dependent on Moses, II. iii. 240.
- Socii reges*, I. i. 448-451, II. 122-126.
- Soemus, an Iturean at the court of Herod, I. i. 429 f., II. 339.
- Soemus, king of the Itureans, I. ii. 339; tetrarch of Lebanon, I. ii. 194; both possibly the same, I. ii. 328, 340.
- Soemus of Emesa, I. ii. 220, 340.
- Soferim, see Sopherim.
- Solomon:
- (1) Description of his temple by Eupolemus, II. iii. 204; his relations to the king of Tyre discussed by a certain Theophilus, I. i. 75; pool of, at Bethlehem, I. ii. 84.
- (2) Proverbs of, called also *ἡ παρά-προς σοφία*, II. iii. 28.
- (3) The Book of Wisdom, II. iii. 230-237; \* its doctrine of wisdom, II. iii. 232; stoicism, II. iii. 233; Messianic Hope, II. ii. 139; regarded by many as work of Philo, II. iii. 235; use in the Christian Church, II. iii. 234.
- (4) Book of Jesus Sirach in Latin Church ascribed to Solomon, II. iii. 28.
- (5) Psalms of Solomon, II. iii. 17-23; \* language, II. iii. 21; relations with the Book of Baruch, II. iii. 22; Messianic Hope, II. ii. 142.
- (6) Magical formulae, books of

- magic and testament, II. iii. 151–155.
- Son of God as predicate of the Messiah, II. ii. 159.
- Son of man as name of Messiah, II. ii. 159, iii. 57, 69.
- Song of Songs has its place in the Canon, II. i. 309 f.; Midrash on, I. i. 148.
- Sophene, I. ii. 340.
- Sopherim, Talmudic tract, I. i. 143.
- Sophocles, spurious verses ascribed to, II. iii. 298.
- Sophmas, grandson of Hercules, II. iii. 210.
- Sophomias, see Zephaniah.
- Sophronius, Greek translator of Jerome, as authority in Suidas, see Suidas.
- Soreg in the temple, I. i. 237.
- Sosius, C., I. i. 342, 395, 397, 398; gives presents for offerings in the temple of Jerusalem, II. i. 305.
- Sostratus, priest at Paphos, I. ii. 223.
- Sosus of Ascalon, philosopher, II. i. 28.
- Sota, Talmudic tract, I. i. 123.
- Soul, see Psychology.
- Sozusa, whether identical with Apollonia? II. i. 83.
- Spain, Jews residing there, II. ii. 242; era of B.C. 38, I. ii. 116; Kolias, fish from, II. i. 43.
- Sparta, diplomatic relations between Jews and Spartans, I. i. 250; relations with Herod, see Lacedaemon; Jews residing in, II. ii. 221; see also Peloponnesus.
- Specularia*, II. i. 45.
- Speculatores* as executioners, I. ii. 62.
- Spinning, II. i. 45.
- Stadium, see Games.
- Star, as symbol of the Messiah, I. ii. 298, 299.
- Statius, L. Mureus, I. i. 336, 338, 385.
- Stephanus, servant of the emperor, I. ii. 172.
- Stoical philosophy, its influence on the Wisdom of Solomon, II. iii. 233; on the 4th book of Maccabees, II. iii. 245; on Philo, II. iii. 364; the Pharisees attached to, II. ii. 5, 15; Moses an adherent of, according to Strabo, II. ii. 298; some Egyptian priests attached to, II. iii. 256.
- Stola*, II. i. 44.
- Strabo, his great historical work, I. i. 54–56; made use of Posidonius, I. i. 49; an authority of Josephus, I. i. 87; his geography, I. i. 112; on the date of its composition, see literature on year of King Juba's death, I. ii. 40; estimate of Moses and Judaism, II. ii. 298.
- Straton, a king of Sidon, II. i. 84.
- Straton's Tower = Caesarea, I. i. 196, 306, 404, 428; II. i. 84; see also Caesarea.
- Subsellium*, II. i. 45.
- Subura, district of city of Rome, II. ii. 248.
- Suetonius, life and works, I. i. 116; on the Jewish edicts of Claudius, II. ii. 236; refers Jewish Messianic prophecies to Vespasian, II. ii. 149.
- Suffering Messiah, II. ii. 184–187.
- Suidas on the imperial census of Augustus, I. ii. 116; biographical articles made up from Jerome, I. i. 68, ii. 187; II. iii. 246, 261, 323, 336, 342; further details on this point in Flach, *Rhein. Mus.*, Bd. 36, 1881, pp. 624–630; copies also from John of Antioch, I. ii. 88, 261.
- Sukka, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Sulla, officer of Agrippa II., I. ii. 200.
- Sulpicius, P. Quirinius, I. i. 351–354, 356, II. 80, 138; II. i. 198; inscriptions, I. i. 354, 357, II. 138; census under, I. i. 357, II. 80, 105–143; census not confined to Judea, I. ii. 123; literature on the census, I. ii. 105.
- Sulpicius Severus on the history of the Seleucidae, I. i. 169; on the burning of the temple, I. ii. 245.
- Sun, in what sense worshipped by Essenes, II. ii. 203, 213, 217.
- Sun-god, see Helios.
- Swine flesh, why forbidden to be eaten by Jews (Tacitus, Plutarch,

- Juvenal), II. ii. 294, 295; comp. iii. 269; prohibition vindicated by Philo and Aristeus, II. iii. 269, 270; Jews compelled to eat flesh of, I. ii. 94; figure of, on south gate of Aelia, and on a coin of 10th legion, I. ii. 316.
- Surena, Parthian general, I. i. 332.
- Suron, king of Phoenicia (= Hiram), II. iii. 204.
- Susanna and Daniel, II. iii. 183-188.
- Susitha, city, see Hippus.
- Syllaeus, Arabian, I. i. 444, 459, II. 353, 357.
- Symeon, see Simon.
- Synagogue, the Great (or the Great Congregation), II. i. 354.
- Synagogues, II. ii. 52-89; \* purpose: instruction in the law, II. ii. 54; antiquity, II. ii. 54.
- (1) Constitution of synagogue communities, II. ii. 55-68; ban: exclusion from congregation, II. ii. 60-62; officers (Archisynagogue, dispenser of alms, servants), II. ii. 62-68; officers in the Dispersion, II. ii. 243-252.
  - (2) Buildings and their arrangements, II. ii. 68-75, 283; old synagogues in Galilee, II. ii. 70; entrance at the south end, II. ii. 78; were under civil protection, II. ii. 268; I. ii. 75.
  - (3) Divine service in, II. ii. 75-83; see also Scriptures, reading; order of sitting, II. ii. 75; services in the Dispersion, II. ii. 283-286; whether service in the Greek language, II. ii. 283 f.
  - (4) Synagogues of Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians, Asiatics in Jerusalem, II. i. 49, II. ii. 56; 480 said to be in Jerusalem, II. ii. 50, 73; synagogues in Rome, II. ii. 247, 260, 283; synagogue of Samaritans at Rome, II. ii. 241.
- Syncellus' notices of Jewish history which are not derived from Josephus, I. i. 68. See Africanus.
- Syncretism of Jews in time of Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 202; of Artapanus, Cleodemus, and Theodotus, II. iii. 206, 209, 224; of the Sibyllines, II. iii. 276 ff.; of Egyptian Jews in time of Hadrian, II. ii. 230; comp. also the two inscriptions on the temple of Pan at Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu), I. i. 32, note.
- Synedria, see Law Administration.
- Syracus, Jewish inscription there, II. ii. 242.
- Syria, coins and inscriptions from, literature on, I. i. 23-34; history of, in time of Seleucidae, I. i. 169-185; history of, as Roman province, I. i. 326-370; garrison arrangements (under Augustus, three legions, under Tiberius, four, were stationed there), I. ii. 50; Jews in, II. ii. 225; see also Antioch.
- Syrian religions in Rome, II. ii. 302.
- Συρίαις σχολομειτρσις*, I. i. 75.

## T

- Taanith, Talmudic tract, I. i. 122.
- Tabae, city, I. i. 222.
- Tabernacles, feast of, I. i. 300; reading Deuteronomy at, during Sabbatical year, I. ii. 157.
- Tabi, slave of Gamaliel, I. ii. 269, 271; II. i. 364.
- Tabor (Itabyrion), mountain and fortress, I. ii. 215, 225.
- Tabula*, II. i. 45.
- Tacitus, life and works, I. i. 115, 116; on the Jews, II. ii. 293-297, III. 262; refers Messianic prophecies of Jews to Vespasian, II. ii. 149.
- Tallith, II. ii. 112.
- Talmud, Jerusalem, I. i. 133; Babylonian, I. i. 134; editions and translations of both Talmuds, I. i. 136-139; literature on the, I. i. 139-143; see also Mishna.
- Tamid, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125; see also Offering, daily.
- Tammus, see Thamimuz.
- Tamna, see Thamna.
- Tanchuma, Midrash, I. i. 152.



Tannaim, Tannaïtes, I. i. 131.

Tanning, II. i. 45.

Targums, oral discourses at divine service, II. ii. 81; written, I. i. 154-163; \* of Onkelos, I. i. 154, 156; Jonathan on prophets, I. i. 155, 156; Jonathan on Pentateuch and the Jerusalem Targum, I. i. 158-160; literature on the, I. i. 160-163; Messianic Hope, II. ii. 153; doctrine of Memra, II. iii. 376.

Tarichea, city, I. ii. 194, 199, 215, 217, 224 f.; situation, I. ii. 224 f.; hippodrome there, II. i. 33; fish trade, II. i. 43.

Tarphon, R., I. i. 127; II. i. 376; identified with Justin's Trypho, II. i. 377, ii. 186.

Tarsus, see Cilicia.

Tatian on the age of Moses, II. iii. 260.

Taxes in Palestine, I. ii. 66-71; range of taxation district, I. ii. 67; farming of, I. ii. 67-70; table of, at Palmyra, I. ii. 67.

Tax-gatherers chased with robbers, I. ii. 71.

*Tazo* in the *Assumptio Mosie*, II. iii. 77.

Teachers, reverence shown to, II. i. 315.

Tebeth, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.

Tebul Jom, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.

Tefilla, Tefillin, see Tephilla, Tephillin.

Tell Hum, see Capernaum.

Temples, heathen, in Palestine, II. i. 11-23; I. i. 434.

Temple at Jerusalem, literature on the Herodian temple, and the ruins of it still remaining, I. i. 17-20, 437 f.

- (1) On its history: Description in Eupolemus of building of Solomon's temple, II. iii. 204; plundering of, by Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 205; desecrated by pagan sacrifices in time of Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 208; reconsecration, I. i. 217; rebuilding by Herod, I. i. 437; burning of some corridors in

B.C. 4, I. ii. 4; elevated about 20 cubits under Agrippa II., I. ii. 198; siege and destruction of, in A.D. 70, I. ii. 243, 244; whether again built in time of Hadrian? I. ii. 289-291, 302; its site said to have been run over with the plough, I. ii. 308; a heathen temple built on its site by Hadrian, I. ii. 316; whether there will be a temple in the Messianic kingdom, II. ii. 174.

- (2) On its topography, I. i. 236 f., ii. 242; II. i. 265, 280-284; \* Greek style prevailing (except in the temple proper), II. i. 35; the golden vine, II. ii. 292 f.; golden eagle, I. i. 444, 463; II. i. 36; golden chains, I. ii. 155; King Agrippa gives golden chain to hang in temple, I. ii. 155; Lishkath hagasiith, II. i. 190-194.

- (3) Furniture of temple, II. i. 260; gifts of heathens consecrated to temple, II. i. 301.

Temple at Leontopolis, II. ii. 286-288; I. ii. 253.

Temple, gifts and dues paid to, II. i. 249-254.

Temple, officers and servants in, II. i. 254-273; see also Priests, Levites, Singers, Doorkeepers, Nethinim.

Temple, visits paid to, by people, the usual times when, II. i. 290.

Temple, worship in, II. i. 273-299.

Temple, captain of, II. i. 257-259.

Temple music, II. i. 270 f., 290.

Temple police, II. i. 264-268; gates shut at night, II. i. 267; inner court not to be entered by Gentiles, even by Romans, II. i. 188, 265; I. i. 237, ii. 74; oversight by civil authorities, I. ii. 75; Roman watch at temple during high festivals, I. ii. 55 f., 171.

Temple, treasures of, and their administration, II. i. 260-264; oversight of these by civil authorities, I. ii. 75.

Temple, feast of Dedication of the, I. i. 217; letters regarding this

- feast in Second Book of Maccabees, II. iii. 213.
- Temura, Talmudic tract, I. i. 124.
- Ten men as least number to form a religious community, II. ii. 73; unemployed, in the synagogal communities, II. ii. 67; the *δέκα πρῶτοι*, II. i. 145, 179.
- Ten cities, see Decapolis.
- Tephilla (see also Shemoneh Esreh).
- Tephillin, II. i. 10, ii. 113, 284; Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.
- Tephon, place so called, I. i. 236.
- Terebith at Hebron, I. ii. 314.
- Terentius Varro, I. i. 348.
- Termessus in Pisidia, I. ii. 67.
- Teron, a soldier, I. i. 461.
- Tertullian *ad nat.* I. 13 explained, II. ii. 306.
- Teruma for the priests, II. i. 238, 248.
- Terumoth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 121.
- Testament, the rabbinical *דְּוִיָּקִי*, II. i. 32; Philo *περὶ διαθηκῶν*, II. iii. 337, 357.
- Apocryphal writings:
- (1) Testament of Moses, II. iii. 81.
  - (2) Testament of Orpheus, II. iii. 299.
  - (3) Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, II. iii. 114–124; contents, II. iii. 114; discrimination of sources, II. iii. 114–120; date of composition, II. iii. 122; use in Christian Church, II. iii. 122; MSS. editions and literature, II. iii. 123, 124.
  - (4) Testament of Solomon, II. iii. 153.
- Tetrarch, title, I. ii. 7, 8.
- Teucer Cyzicenus on the Jews, I. i. 73.
- Text of Old Testament, see Massora.
- Thallus, a Samaritan, freedman of Tiberius, II. ii. 241.
- Thammuz, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.
- Thamna, district of country, situation, II. i. 158, 159; inhabitants sold by Cassius as slaves, I. i. 386; by order of Antony they are released, I. i. 388; capital of a toparchy, II. i. 157; another place of the same name, I. i. 236; II. i. 158.
- Theandrites, Arabian deity, II. i. 22.
- Theatre, see Games.
- Theatrea, remains of ancient: at Caesarea, II. i. 26; at Gadara, Kamatha, Scythopolis, II. i. 27; at Gerasa, Philadelphia, II. i. 28; at Jerusalem (probably of time of Herod), I. i. 432, 433.
- Theodoric (king) on the Samaritans in Rome, II. ii. 241.
- Theodorus, tyrant of Amathus, II. i. 60.
- Theodorus of Gadara, rhetorician, II. i. 29, 103.
- Theodotion, translator of the Bible, II. iii. 168, 172–175.
- Theodotus, Epic poet, II. iii. 224, 225.
- Theophilus, son of Ananos, high priest, II. i. 199.
- Theophilus, writer (on Jewish history), I. i. 75.
- Theophilus, Christian apologist, cites the Sibyllines, II. iii. 289.
- Therapeuten, II. ii. 218, iii. 358.
- Theseus, on a tripod at Neapolis, I. ii. 267.
- Thessalonica, "God-fearing" Gentiles there, II. ii. 308.
- Thessaly divided into four tetrarchies, I. ii. 7; Jews residing there, II. ii. 222.
- Theudas, I. ii. 168.
- Theuprosopon (*Θεοῦ πρόσωπον*), city, I. ii. 330.
- Thimna, see Thamna.
- Thracians in the army of Herod, I. ii. 447; *ala I. Thracum, cohors I. et II. Thracum* in Palestine, I. ii. 56.
- Thyatira, sanctuary of Sambethe there, II. ii. 69; see also Lydia.
- Tiberianus, governor of Palestine, I. ii. 261.
- Tiberias, city, II. i. 143–147; \* I. ii. 19, 20, 101, 194, 199 f.; era, II. i. 144; coins, II. i. 144, 146; constitution, II. i. 145; capital of Galilee, II. i. 146, 156; attitude and fortunes during war of A.D.

- 66-70, I. ii. 215 f., 218, 224; II. i. 146 f.; see also Justus of Tiberias; seat of Rabbinical school, II. i. 147; buildings, I. ii. 20; palace with animal figures, I. ii. 20; II. i. 36; stadium, I. ii. 20, 34; no heathen temple till A.D. 70, II. i. 21; Hadrian's temple, I. ii. 296; baths at, II. i. 143.
- Tiberius, Emperor, period of reign, I. i. 358; stay at Capri, I. ii. 152; principles of his administration of the provinces, I. ii. 82; and Livia as *Σιβαστροί*, I. ii. 338; forbids Oriental religions in Rome, II. ii. 302; edict against the Jews, II. ii. 235; milder toward Jews after death of Sejanus, I. ii. 21, 86; II. ii. 236; his freedman, Thallus the Samaritan, II. ii. 241.
- Tiberius, Palestinian coins of, I. ii. 78; Palestine his private estate, II. i. 63.
- Tiberius, grandson of emperor, I. ii. 93, 152.
- Tiberius, Julius Alexander, in time of Trajan, I. ii. 170.
- Tiberius, Julius Alexander, in time of Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian, I. ii. 169, 170, 236; II. ii. 281; see also Alexander.
- Tiberius, Julius Alexander, in time of Antoninus Pius, I. ii. 170; II. ii. 229.
- Tibne, see Thamna.
- Tigranes, king of Armenia, I. i. 182, 183, 311, 317.
- Timagenes, historian, I. i. 50, 51.
- Time, reckoning of, see Era, Calendar, Chronology.
- Times, history of N. T., I. i. 1.
- Timocharis, writer, I. i. 75.
- Timotheus, leader of the Ammonites, I. i. 190, 220.
- Tineius, Rufus, governor of Judea, I. ii. 262 f., 302-305; Jewish legends about him, I. ii. 305, 308.
- Tirathana, district of country at Gerizim, I. ii. 87.
- Tiridates, king of the Parthians, I. ii. 34.
- Tishri, see Tizri.
- Tithes, II. i. 233, 239; second, II. i. 234, 240; of cattle, I. i. 240; for the poor, II. i. 241; administration of, centralized in Jerusalem, II. i. 248; high priests appropriate the, I. ii. 181, 189.
- Titius, M., I. i. 350.
- Tittius, Frugi, commander of 15th legion in army of Titus, I. ii. 236.
- Titus, son of Vespasian, literature about, I. ii. 234, 245; his part in the Jewish war, I. ii. 201, 219-227, 235-250; council of war before destruction of temple, I. ii. 243; title of Imperator, I. ii. 244; triumphal arch at Rome, I. ii. 249; medals celebrating victory over Jews, I. ii. 249; comp. 225; on coins of Agrippa, called *Σιβαστροί*; during his father's lifetime, I. ii. 205; relations with Berenice, I. ii. 203, 204.
- Tizri, Hebrew month, I. ii. 363.
- Tobia ben Elieser, I. i. 151.
- Tobit, Book of, II. iii. 37-44; date of composition, II. iii. 39; language in which written, II. iii. 40; use by the Jews, II. iii. 41; Messianic Hope, II. ii. 139.
- Tohoroth, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.
- Toleration of Romans toward Judaism, I. ii. 75 ff.; II. ii. 257 ff., 271 ff.
- Toparchies, eleven, in Judea, II. i. 157-161.
- Tosaphoth, I. i. 131, note.
- Tosefta, I. i. 130-133; literature about, I. i. 130 f.
- Tower of Babel in Sibyllines and Alexander Polyhistor, II. iii. 199, 282, 288.
- Trachon, Trachonitis, district of country, I. i. 409, 453, 459, II. 10 f., 12; mixed population of, II. i. 2, 4; heathen religions in, II. i. 21-23; Greek inscriptions, I. i. 29-31.
- Tracts, the smaller Talmudic, I. i. 143, 144.
- Trade in Palestine, II. i. 37-46; of Gaza with Athens, II. i. 68; of Ake with Athens, II. i. 90; I. i. 196; of Palestine with Gaul, II. i. 109; see also Ascalon, Athens, Delos, Gaza, Ptolemais, Puteoli; Indian, with the West, II. ii. 216.

- Trades, Jewish scribes learning, II. i. 215.
- Trade winds, I. ii. 95.
- Tradition, Rabbinical, and Pharisaic, see Halacha, Haggada, Pharisees, Scribes; of the Halacha binding, II. i. 333 f., II. ii. 11; of the Haggada not binding, II. i. 348, II. ii. 129; *traditiones* = *δευτερώσεις*, I. i. 119.
- Trajan, Emperor, war against Jews, I. ii. 282–287; day of, in Jewish legends, I. ii. 286; makes Arabia a Jewish province, I. ii. 361; rescript to Tiberianus in favour of Christians, I. ii. 261; search for descendants of David, I. ii. 279.
- Translations of the Holy Scriptures used in public worship, II. ii. 81; written, of the Bible, see Septuagint, Targums.
- Treasurers and administration of funds in temple, II. i. 261–264.
- Treasury of the temple, II. i. 260.
- Trespass-offering, II. i. 279; gifts therefrom for the priests, II. i. 232, 235.
- Tribes, the twelve, regarded as still existing in Epistle of Aristeeas, II. iii. 307; the ten did not return, II. ii. 223; dwelling-place of the ten, II. ii. 225; whether they will yet return, II. ii. 169, 170; of Levi and Judah have the rule: the latter subject to the former according to *Testam. XII. Patr.*, II. iii. 118 f.
- Tripolis, I. i. 226, 437.
- Triumphal arch of Titus, I. ii. 249.
- Trogus, Pompeius, see Justin.
- Trombones blown in temple on New Year's day, II. ii. 75.
- Troops, see Military Service.
- Trumpets blown in temple at feasts, etc., II. i. 272, 290, 296, II. ii. 75.
- Trypho, see Diodotus.
- Trypho in Justin identified with R. Tarphon, II. i. 377, II. ii. 186; sayings about the Suffering Messiah, II. ii. 185.
- Turannus, Rufus, see Tineius.
- Turbo, see Marcius Turbo.
- Twelve patriarchs, Testaments of the, see Testaments.
- Twelve tribes of Israel regarded by Aristeeas as existing, II. iii. 307.
- Twelve wells of water at Elim, II. iii. 227.
- Tyche, worship of, in Gaza, II. i. 12; in Ptolemais, II. i. 18; in Damascus, II. i. 19; in the Hauran, II. i. 23; *τύχη Γεράσων*, II. i. 20; *τύχη Φιλαδελφίων*, II. i. 20; *τύχη Ασωτίων*, II. i. 78; *τύχη* = Gad, II. i. 23.
- Tyrants in Palestinian cities at end of Seleucidæan rule, II. i. 60.
- Tyrannus Rufus, see Tineius.
- Tyre, ladder of, mountain south of Tyre, I. i. 248.
- Tyre, ruled over Ascalon during Persian supremacy, II. i. 59; era of, B.C. 275, II. i. 59; era of, B.C. 126, II. i. 60; Marion, tyrant of, I. i. 385; *cohors I. Tyriorum*, II. i. 65; calendar of, II. i. 72; festive games, II. i. 23, 24; coinage of, II. i. 40, 244, 250; architectural style, II. i. 36; furniture, household (ladder), II. i. 45; linen manufactures, II. i. 41; merchants of, in Delos and Puteoli, II. ii. 253; buildings of Herod there, I. i. 437; enmity of natives of, to the Jews, II. ii. 275.

## U

- Uaphres, king of Egypt, II. iii. 204.
- Uasaithu, Arabian deity, II. i. 22.
- Ukgin, Talmudic tract, I. i. 125.
- Ulatha, district of country, I. i. 453, II. i. 333.
- Ummidius, C. Quadratus, governor of Syria, I. i. 367, II. i. 48, 173.

## V

- Vajechi rabba, I. i. 148.
- Vajjikra rabba, I. i. 148, 150.
- Valerius, L., praetor, I. i. 267.
- Valerius Gratus, procurator, I. ii. 81; appoints and deposes high priests, II. i. 198.
- Valerius Maximus on the Jews, II. ii. 233.

Varro, governor of Syria, I. i. 348.  
 Varro on the Sibyllines, II. iii. 273;  
 the era of, A.U.C. 1, I. ii. 393 ff.  
 Varus, see Quinctilius Varus.  
 Varus or Noarus, son of Soemus,  
 ruler in Lebanon, I. ii. 193, 200,  
 340. (He is called Varus: Josephus,  
*Wars of the Jews*, II. 12. 8;  
*Life* xi., xxxvi.; Noarus: *Wars of the Jews*,  
 II. 18. 6. On the latter name see *Corpus. Inscr. Graec.*  
 n. 4595, 8652; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*,  
 pp. 146, 199.)  
*Vectigalia arabarthiae* in Egypt  
 farmed out to Jews, II. ii. 280.  
 Vejento, I. i. 334.  
*Velum*, II. i. 45.  
 Venosa (Venusia), Jewish sepulchres  
 and inscriptions there, I. i. 33;  
 II. ii. 242, 249, 251, 269.  
 Ventidius, P., I. i. 341.  
 Ventidius Cumanus, procurator, I.  
 ii. 75, 171–174.  
 Venus, see Aphrodite.  
 Vespasian, Emperor, I. i. 79, 90, II.  
 200, 218–227, 230–234; coins of,  
 in memory of victory over Jews,  
 I. ii. 250, also 226; his memoirs,  
 I. i. 63; searches for descendants  
 of David, I. ii. 279; Josephus  
 applies Messianic prophecies to  
 him, II. ii. 149.  
 Vesuvius, outburst of, referred to by  
 Sibyllines, II. iii. 285.  
 Vettulenus Cerialis, see Cerealis.  
 Vetus, see Antistius Vetus.  
 Vibius, C. Marsus, governor of Syria,  
 I. i. 366, II. 159, 342.  
 Victims, sacrificial, what pieces  
 given to the priests, I. ii. 272; II.  
 i. 244 f.  
*Vicus Judaeorum*, II. ii. 287.  
 Vine, golden, in temple, II. ii. 292;  
 golden, presented by Aristobulus  
 II. to Pompey, I. i. 318; synagogue  
 of the, at Sepphoris, II. ii. 74.  
 Vineyard at Jamnia as gathering  
 place of Jewish scholars, II. i.  
 326.  
 Vienne in Gaul, I. ii. 42.  
 Vitellius, L., governor of Syria, I. i.  
 364 f., II. 33–35, 48, 87, 90 (also  
 commented on in Philo, *Legat. ad*  
*Caicum*, § 32); time of his two

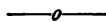
visits to Jerusalem, I. ii. 88, 89;  
 abolishes the market toll in Jeru-  
 salem, I. ii. 68; appoints high  
 priests, II. i. 199; orders the  
 surrender of the high priests'  
 robes, I. ii. 76, 89; restrains troops  
 with imperial figures marching  
 through Judea, I. ii. 77 f., 89;  
 sacrifices in Jerusalem, I. ii. 75;  
 II. i. 302.  
 Vitellius, Emperor, I. i. 370, II. 233,  
 376.  
 Volumnius, I. i. 350.  
*Volumni Synagoga* in Rome, II. ii.  
 247.  
 Volusius, L. Saturninus, governor of  
 Syria, I. i. 357.

## W

Watch stations in the temple, II. i.  
 265–267.  
 Wajjikra, see Vajjikra.  
 Wasajathu, see Uasaiathu.  
 Washings, Levitical, what water  
 used in, II. ii. 106–111; of  
 officiating priests, II. i. 278, 292,  
 III. 116; of the Essenes, II. ii. 199,  
 211; of proselytes, II. ii. 319–  
 324.  
 Water, what, used in Levitical  
 washing, II. i. 292, 298.  
 Weapons, carrying of, forbidden on  
 Sabbath, II. ii. 105, 264.  
 Weaver's loom, II. i. 45.  
 Week, public worship on second and  
 fifth days of, II. ii. 83; on same  
 days court of justice sat, II. i. 190;  
 on same days a fast was observed,  
 II. ii. 118.  
 Weeks, feast of, II. ii. 37.  
 Will, freedom of the, see Providence.  
 Wine, a chief product of Palestine,  
 especially for Ascalon and Gaza,  
 II. i. 41; gifts thereof to the  
 priests, II. i. 238; use of, for-  
 bidden to officiating priests, II. i.  
 278; alleged prohibition of use  
 of, by Essenes, II. ii. 201; heathen,  
 forbidden to Jews, II. i. 53; Philo's  
 writing on the cultivation of vine  
 and drunkenness, II. iii. 335.  
 Wisdom, personification of, II. iii.

- 232; book of, II. iii. 230 ff.; see Solomon.
- Wool, gifts of, to priests, II. i. 245; not mixed with linen except in dress of high priest, II. i. 277; manufactures in Judea, II. i. 42; in Laodicea in Phrygia, II. i. 45.
- World, present and future, II. ii. 177 f.; present, to last 6000 years, II. ii. 163; another calculation in Book of Enoch, II. iii. 58; destruction of, by fire, according to Sibyllines, Hystaspes, and Justin, II. iii. 285, 294; according to pseudo-Sophocles, II. iii. 301; map of, by Agrippa, I. ii. 117.
- Worship in temple of Jerusalem, see Priests; in synagogues, see Synagogues; of emperor, I. ii. 77, 83; of heathen gods in Palestine, II. i. 11–23; of Oriental deities in the West, II. ii. 302.
- Writing, knowledge of art of, II. ii. 47; on Sabbath forbidden, II. ii. 98.
- X
- Xanthicus, see Months, I. ii. 363.
- Xystos in Jerusalem, II. i. 19.
- Z
- Zabadeans, an Arabian tribe, I. i. 251.
- Zabdiel, an Arabian, I. ii. 351.
- Zabelus = Zabdiel.
- Zabelus, name of supposed Arabian king, see Rabel.
- Zabinas, see Alexander.
- Zacharias, son of Baruch, I. ii. 229 f.
- Zaddan, Queen, II. ii. 311.
- Zadduk, R., I. i. 126; II. ii. 367.
- Zadok = Sadduk, II. ii. 31.
- Zadok, a family of priests, II. i. 223, 225, II. 33; see also Sadducees.
- Zadok, pupil of Antigonas of Socho, II. ii. 32.
- Zadok, R., see Zadduk.
- Zamaris, Babylonian Jew, I. ii. 13; his grandson Philip, I. ii. 211.
- Zealot, the author of the *Assumptio Moysis* a, II. iii. 80.
- Zealots, the party of, I. ii. 80 f.,\* 177, 229.
- Zebaoth as name of God, II. ii. 234.
- Zeno, the philosopher, borrowing from Moses, II. iii. 367.
- Zeno Kotylas, tyrant of Philadelphia, II. i. 120.
- Zenodorus, tetrarch, I. i. 409, 453, II. 329, 332 f.; inscription and coins, I. ii. 333.
- Zephaniah, Apocalypse of, II. iii. 132.
- Zeugma, I. ii. 249.
- Zeus worship in Aelia Capitolina, I. ii. 317; in Ascalon, II. i. 14; in Caesarea Stratonis, II. i. 17; in Caesarea Philippi, II. i. 21; in Damascus, II. i. 19; in Dora, II. i. 17; in Gadara, II. i. 20; in Neapolis, I. ii. 267; in Ptolemais, II. i. 18; in the Hauran, II. i. 22; in Jerusalem in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, I. i. 208.
- Zia, village, II. i. 121.
- Zion = the temple mount, I. i. 207; *Ligullath Zion*, *Chéruth Zion* on coins, I. ii. 385.
- Zizith, II. ii. 111 f.; Talmudic tract, I. i. 144.
- Zoilus, tyrant of Straton's Tower and Dora, II. i. 84 f., 89.
- Zonaras did not use Josephus, but the Epitome, I. i. 104.
- Zophim, a place near Jerusalem, I. ii. 213.
- Zythos, Egyptian, II. i. 42.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO DIVISION II.



### VOLUME I.

PAGE

1. We cannot with strict accuracy speak of a "conversion of the Itureans" by Aristobulus I. It was only a portion of the kingdom of Iturea that was conquered by Aristobulus, and the inhabitants of that conquered district he converted by the use of force. It is therefore extremely probable that by this we must understand that region which is practically coextensive with Galilee, or at least its northern portions. See Division I. vol. i. p. 293.
3. In Galilee, "even during the Persian age," Judaism, properly so called, had not by any means obtained complete ascendancy. The population of that district was, even in the beginning of the Maccabean age, predominantly non-Jewish (see Division I. vol. i. p. 192 f.). It is correct to say only, that the resident Jews scattered up and down through the district belonged to the Jewish, not to the Samaritan party, and as worshippers maintained their connection with Jerusalem.
- 4, line 13 from the top, cancel the words, "and coinage." The reference is only to differences of weights between Judea and Galilee (*Terumoth* x. 8: Cured fish of 10 sus weight in Judea were reckoned 5 sela in Galilee; *Kethuboth* v. 9 and *Chullin* xi. 2: Wool of 5 sela in Judea = 10 sela in Galilee).
14. The name Atargatis had certainly, down to 1879, in addition to its appearing on the inscription of Astypalia, occurred "only three times besides in Greek inscriptions." A rich addition, however, has since been made to this material by the French excavations at Delos. See Hauvette-Besnault, *Fouilles de Delos: Aphrodite syrienne, Adad et Atargatis* (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. vi. 1882, pp. 470-503; the Atargatis inscriptions, pp. 495-500, n. 12-21). In these Atargatis is generally joined with Adad ('Αδάτωι καὶ Ἀταργάτῃ). Once (p. 497, n. 15) we meet with Ἀγνῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἀταργάτῃ καὶ Ἀδάδου [r. Ἀδάδω].—To the literature on

## PAGE

- Atargatis add: Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* xxxix. 1885, p. 42 f. (specially on the various forms of the Greek name); Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phoenicier* (1889), p. 148 f.
52. The offensive military standards which Pilate carried into Jerusalem were not the eagles of the legions. This, indeed, was impossible, because Pilate had no legionary troops (see Division I. vol. ii. pp. 49, 50). Figures of the emperor, however, were carried, not only by the legions, but also by the auxiliary troops. For further details, see Division I. vol. ii. p. 78. In the case also of the army of Vitellius we must think of figures of the emperor and not of the legionary eagles.
83. The identity of Apollonia and Arsuf is demonstrated, not only from the table of distances in the Peutinger table, but also by the very names themselves, for  $\text{אֶרְשֻׁף}$  is that Semitic deity which corresponds to Apollo. On a bilingual inscription at Idalion in Cyprus (*Corp. Inscr. Semit.* n. 89) the Semitic text reads  $\text{אֶרְשֻׁף מַכֵּל}$ , the Greek text reads,  $\tau\omega \text{Απολωνι } \tau\omega \text{Αμυκλοι}$ . On two inscriptions at Tamassos in Cyprus (published by Euting, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1887, pp. 115–123),  $\text{אֶרְשֻׁף}$  on the one hand answers to  $\text{Απιλωνι}$  or  $\text{Απολωνι}$  on the other. — The identity of the names Apollonia and Arsuf was first maintained by Clermont-Ganneau (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. xxxii. 1876, pp. 374, 375 [in the treatise on *Horus et Saint Georges*, which also appeared separately in 1877]; *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscript. et belles-lettres de l'année*, 1881 [iv. série, t. ix.], p. 186 sq.). Compare also, Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1888, p. 473.
98. The situation of Hippius can now be regarded as fixed with certainty, since Schumacher has discovered a ruin Susije “between *kalat-el-husn* and *fik* on a plain lying upon a slight elevation between the two” (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. ix. 1886, pp. 324 f., 349 f.; see also, Schumacher’s Map of Djaulan in this same journal). Susije is the Arabic form of the Hebrew, Susitha, corresponding to the Greek,  $\text{Ἰπποσ}$ . For the identity of Susije and Hippius we may cite, e.g., Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue critique*, 1886, Nr. 46, p. 388; *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1887, pp. 36–38; Kasteren, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xi. 1888, pp. 235–238.
- 118, note 126a. The inscription copied by Merrill is once more published by Allen in *American Journal of Philology*, vol. vi. 1885, pp. 191, 192, with the observation, that instead of  $[\Gamma]\epsilon\rho[\alpha]\sigma[\eta]\varsigma$  we should read  $\text{ἱ[ε]ρ[ε]α[ς]}$ .
- 143, note 385. The ancient Livias or Beth-Ramtha is identical with the modern Tell er-Rame, south of Tell Nimrin. In the neighbourhood hot springs have been found. See *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ii. 1879, pp. 2, 3; vii. 1884, p. 201 ff.



VOLUME II.

PAGE

- 64 and 69. On the interesting inscriptions of Hammam el-Enf (or, according to the common pronunciation, Hammam-Lif) compare the more exact descriptions by Renan, *Revue archéologique*, troisième série, t. i. 1883, pp. 157-163, t. iii. 1884, pp. 273-275, pl. vii.-xi. (we have here the best illustrations), and Kaufmann, *Revue des études juives*, t. xiii. 1886, pp. 46-61; for a statement of opinion see also Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, xiii., pp. 217-223. —The first communications which I followed have now been proved inexact in several particulars, especially in the statement, that the Christian monogram is found upon one of the inscriptions. This alleged monogram, which stands in the text of the inscription, is a P with a cross line as a mark of abbreviation. Since thus every vestige of evidence for its Christian origin breaks down, and since, on the other hand, on that inscription there is a representation of the seven-branched candlestick, it is certain that the inscriptions should be regarded as Jewish. So also Renan, Kaufmann, and Reinach. They are found upon the Mosaic flooring of a building, therefore of a synagogue. It is certainly remarkable that on these mosaics are figured also, beasts, fishes, peacocks, etc. But such figures are also found in the Jewish catacombs of the Vigna Randanini at Rome (to which Kaufmann has rightly called attention).—Seeing that on pp. 64 and 69 I have expressed myself as if there were but one inscription in question, it may be here stated that there are indeed three inscriptions. The one communicated on p. 64 is found on the floor of the portico, the one communicated on p. 69 on the floor of the inner room. Instead of *Julia Gnar* we should there read *Juliana p.*—The mosaics are no longer in the locality and in their place (destroyed or stolen?). See *Revue des études juives*, xiii. 217.
70. The washing of hands before prayer was obligatory. Compare Maimonides, *Hilchoth Tephilla*, iv. 1-5: "There are five indispensable requirements for prayer that must be observed even while it is being offered. The cleanness of the hands, the covering of nakedness, the cleanness of the place where the prayer is uttered, the putting away of matters that dissipate the mind, and the fervour of the heart. (2) In reference to the cleanness of the hands the following prescriptions are to be observed. The hands are to be sprinkled with water as far up as the wrist, and then the worshipper proceeds immediately with his prayer. But if any one should be on a journey when the time of prayer arrives, and there is no water at hand, yet if it be so that between him and water there is only a distance of four miles or 8000 ells, he is bound to go to the water, and there wash his hands and then repeat his prayer. But if the distance be greater, then he is obliged only to

## PAGE

wipe his hands with shavings or sand or on a board, and thereafter he may proceed to pray. (3) The above obligation, however, only comes into force if the water is found in the direction in which the traveller is going: if it is behind him, he is obliged to turn back only if it is not more than a mile distant. If the distance is greater than a mile, then he merely wipes his hands clean and may proceed with his prayer. (4) The obligation merely to wash the hands has reference only to those prayers that are said at other times than in the morning. At morning prayer, on the other hand, the worshipper is required to wash face, hands, and feet before he can pray. But if at the time of morning prayer one be far from water, then he merely wipes his hands and thereafter proceeds to pray. (5) All who have been pronounced unclean, as well as those who are clean, have simply to wash their hands, and can then engage in prayer, for the complete submersion even if it could be thoroughly carried out, in order to remove ceremonial defilement, is not necessary in order to prayer."—J. F. Schröder, *Satzungen und Gebräuche des talmudisch-rabbinischen Judenthums* (1851), p. 25: "Before going to the synagogue, even if they were sure that they had not touched anything unclean, the worshippers were required always to wash their hands."—Compare generally also *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 591–593 (ed. Friedlieb).—The statements made by Schneckenburger, *Ueber das Alter der jüdischen Proselyten-Taufe* (1828), p. 38, require sifting.

165. On Armilus, אַרְמִילִיּוֹס, see Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* Bd. xxxix. 1885, p. 343 (in the criticism of Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*): "It is simply Πρωμύλος, which appears in the Syriac as אַרְמִילָאוֹס (Lagarde, *Analect.* 203. 3); Romulus is here the representative of Rome." A similar view had been expressed before by Vitranga, *Observationes sacrae*, vi. 21, p. 489; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 282; Castelli, *Il Messia*, p. 244 sqq.; Weber, *Die altsynagogale palästinische Theologie*, p. 349. Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge* (1888), p. 13 f., expresses himself in a hesitating and vacillating manner.—The original text of the Armilus legend is given by Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* (i. 35–57: *Midrash Vajoscha*. ii. 54–57; *Das Buch Serubabel*. ii. 58–63; *Die Zeichen des Messias*. iii. 65–68; *Apokalypse des Elias*. iii. 78–82; *Mysterien des Simon ben Jochai*).
167. On the Messiah, son of Joseph, compare the thorough and methodically conducted investigations of Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge*, p. 16 ff. The result of these investigations is summed up approvingly by Siegfried (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1888, p. 397 f.) as follows: The suffering Messiah ben David and the dying Messiah ben Joseph are to be regarded as

PAGE

quite distinct. The latter is not a Messiah of the ten tribes, but is an idea resulting from Zech. xii.-xiv. in combination with Deut. xxxiii. 17. His death is therefore not at all regarded as an atonement. The suffering Son of David rests upon the Messianic interpretation of Isa. liii.

177. The expression לְעוֹלָם, which Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaic*. col. 711 sq., quotes, and which I, led astray by Fritzsche, De Wette, and Meyer, had described as equivalent to the New Testament *παλιγγενεσία*, Matt. xix. 28, means not "The Restoration of the World," but is rather equivalent to *creatio ex nihilo*. Buxtorf refers, without any further explanation, to Rambam (Maimonides), *More Nebuchim*, without indicating the particular passage, and to the *Sepher Ikkarim* of Joseph Albo, Abschn. i. cap. 23. But there, in fact, the subject is creation out of nothing. Buxtorf's opinion, therefore, is correct. His translation, *innovatio mundi*, however, contributed to lead me, as well as others, into the error referred to. —This mistake, it may be observed by the way, is the most serious of all that the unfavourable critic of the *Revue des études juives*, xiii. 309-318, could ferret out among the 884 pp. of my book. There are some others of less consequence. In regard to the majority of his "corrections," the error lies on the side of my excellent critic, who has found much in my book which does not indeed please him, but is nevertheless true.
226. The inscription at Anapa is not Jewish. See the observations by Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, vol. i. Petersburg 1885, ad n. 98.
273. The statement that the rights of citizenship had been given to the Jews in Ephesus by Antiochus II. Theos (B.C. 261-246) is indeed probably correct, but is not supported by direct evidence. The passage referred to by me and others in support of this opinion in Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 3. 2, runs as follows: τῶν γὰρ Ἰόνων κινήσαντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ δεομένων τοῦ Ἀγρίππα ἵνα τῆς πολιτείας ἦν αὐτοῖς ἰδῶκεν Ἀντίοχος; ὁ Σελεύκου νιάνος, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι Θεός λεγόμενος, μόνοι μετίχῳσιν κ.τ.λ. "When the people of Ionia were very angry at the Jews, and besought Agrippa that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, who by the Greeks was called Theos, had bestowed upon them," etc. There is no word here of any grant of citizenship to the Jews, for αὐτοῖς refers, not to the Jews, but to the Ionians. Antiochus Theos bestowed upon the inhabitants of the cities on the Ionian coast the citizen rights (πολιτεία) which they possessed from that time onward, namely, autonomy and a democratic constitution, whereas at the end of the Persian age they had been governed by oligarchs. Undoubtedly the oligarchical governments in those parts had been

already overthrown by Alexander the Great (Arrian, i. 18. 2: καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας πανταχοῦ καταλύνειν ἐκέλευσε, δημοκρατίας δὲ ἰγκαθιστάναι καὶ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς σφῶν ἐκάστοις ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀνίστασθαι ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον. On Ephesus in particular, see Arrian, i. 17. 10. Comp. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griech. Staatsalterthümer*, ii. 135 ff.). In the confusions, however, of the age of the Diadochoi, the state of matters underwent various changes from time to time, and the definite restoration of the autonomy and democracy in the communities of those parts was essentially the work of Antiochus Theos. Apart from the general testimony of Josephus in regard to these matters, we have also the following particular details. The Milesians gave to Antiochus II. the name of Theos, because he freed them from the tyrant Timarchus (Appian, *Syr.* 65). In a rescript of Antiochus II. to the Council and people of Erythraea it is said: διότι ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀντιγόνου αὐτόνομος ἦν καὶ ἀφορολόγητος ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν [and so presumably they had been no longer so under Seleucus I. and Antiochus I.] . . . τὴν τε αὐτονομίαν ὑμῖν συνδιατηρήσομεν καὶ ἀφορολόγητους εἶναι συγχωροῦμεν (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript. Graec.* n. 166, after Curtius, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1875, p. 554 ff.; the rescript is not, as Curtius had assumed, by Antiochus I., but by Antiochus II.; see Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xvi. 1881, p. 197 f.). On an inscription at Smyrna it is said in reference to Seleucus II., the son and successor of Antiochus II., that he confirmed the autonomy and democracy of the city, ἐβεβαίωσεν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν αὐτονομίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν. Since the matter spoken of immediately before was the special marks of favour shown to the city by Antiochus II., it is evident that he was regarded as the great benefactor of the city. Seleucus II. only confirmed the privileges that had been bestowed by him (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 3137, line 10 sq. = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, n. 171 = Hicks, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1882, n. 176). Compare generally: Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2 Aufl. iii. 1. 330 f.; Hicks, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 298; Foucart, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. ix. 1885, p. 392 sq.; Gilbert, *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, ii. 1885, pp. 135-149. —The facts that have been stated here are important for this reason, that they explain to us the origin of the citizen rights of the Jews in Ephesus and the other Ionian cities. Generally speaking, the Jews had citizen rights only in those cities which had been rebuilt during the Hellenistic age. But in the arrangements of these rebuilt cities, all the inhabitants were placed upon the same level in respect of the constitutional law. When, therefore, the constitutions of the Ionian cities in the beginning of the Hellenistic age were reorganized, the Jews also would just then receive the privilege of citizenship. Upon

PAGE

- the whole, this accords with the testimony of Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 4: *οἱ ἐν Ἐφίῳ καὶ κατὰ τῆν ἄλλαν Ἰουδαίαν τοῖς αὐθιγυῖαι πολίταις ὁμωνυμοῦσι, τοῦτο παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν διαδόχων.* From all that has been said, it would be more exact to say that they had this privilege from Antiochus II. rather than from the Diadochoi.
279. The monograph of Ruprecht, referred to as "just published," has not appeared.

### VOLUME III.

- 219 and 338 ff. Philo's systematic exposition of the Mosaic legislation was not specially written for non-Jewish readers, but was at least intended equally for Jews. See the proofs given of this view by Massebieau in his valuable treatise, *Le classement des oeuvres de Philon (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, Sciences religieuses, vol. i. Paris 1889, pp. 1-91), p. 38 sq.*—A complete reproduction of the contents of this interesting work of Philo is given by Oskar Holtzmann, *Das Ende des jüdischen Staatswesens und die Entstehung des Christenthums*, 1888, pp. 259-279 (= Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. pp. 531-551).
- 346 f. Massebieau, as well as Dähne and Gfrörer, holds that the treatises, *de caritate* and *de poenitentia* (Philo, ed. Mangey, ii. 383-407), must be regarded as occupying a place separate from and not alongside of the treatise *de fortitudine*. Only the latter belongs to the systematic exposition of the Mosaic legislation; the other two are an appendix to the *Vita Mosis* (see Massebieau, *Le classement des oeuvres de Philon*, pp. 39-41). The reasons which he gives are, in fact, hardly convincing. This, however, is not the place for re-opening a discussion of the question, which is not of great importance in regard to the general arrangement of Philo's writings.—On all important points in reference to the arrangement of Philo's writings, Massebieau agrees with me, especially in this, that the *Vita Mosis* does not belong to the systematic exposition of the Mosaic legislation, and, as might have been expected, also in this, that the systematic exposition is an entirely different work from the allegorical commentary on selected passages from Genesis.
- 349-354. The arrangement of Philo's work on the persecutions, or rather on the persecutors of the Jews, which I attempted on the basis of the statements of Eusebius, has been subjected to a thorough criticism by Massebieau in his work just referred to, pp. 65-78. He feels himself obliged, even on the basis of the Eusebian state-

ments, to assume that the first and second of the five books which Eusebius refers to in *Hist. eccl.* ii. 5. 1, have been lost, and that in the second the persecution under Sejanus had been related. But he believes that only the *Legatio ad Cajum* which has come down to us is a fragment of those five books, whereas the treatise *adversus Flaccum* did not belong to that group. But against this theory, and in favour of the opinion that the treatise *adversus Flaccum* formed part of the five books referred to by Eusebius, the fact that our treatise *adversus Flaccum*, according to its opening words, was undoubtedly preceded by a book on the persecutions by Sejanus, affords very strong presumptive evidence. From this we are justified in concluding that the treatise *adversus Flaccum* formed the third of those five books. What powerful reasons then has Massebieau to advance against the insertion of the treatise in that series? He starts with the assumption that the Alexandrian persecution of the Jews, which is reported in the *Legatio ad Cajum*, is the same as that which is described in the treatise *adversus Flaccum*. But one and the same occurrence could not have been described with equal fulness and detail in two books of the one work. The *Legatio ad Cajum* does not by any means represent itself as a continuation of the treatise *adversus Flaccum*. Now with reference to the identity of the two persecutions, I must, in opposition to the view maintained by me in Division II. vol. iii. pp. 352, 353, agree with Massebieau (comp. Division I. vol. ii. p. 94). It is also correct to say that the *Legatio* is not the continuation of the *Flaccus*. Nevertheless, I regard it as certain that the arrangement proposed by me is the right one. Massebieau has himself afforded the key for the solution of the difficulty. He has, in an able and convincing manner, shown that Philo in this work treats, not of the persecutions, but of the persecutors of the Jews. His theme is the same as that of Lactantius in his work *de mortibus persecutorum*: all persecutors of the righteous come to an evil end. This proposition Philo supports by pointing to the cases of Sejanus, Flaccus, and Caligula. All three had cruelly persecuted the Jews. All three came to a violent end. To each of them Philo devotes a little monograph, and these three treatises are bound together into one whole only by the common point of view. Under these circumstances it can be very easily understood that the *Legatio ad Cajum* appears not as a continuation of the *Flaccus*, and that the Alexandrian persecution of the Jews is related in detail in both, although both writings form parts of one comprehensive work. That persecution must have been the subject in both books, because it was carried on by Flaccus as well as by Caligula, each proceeding in his own way. The understanding of this literary plan of Philo has been made difficult owing to the circumstance that only the treatise against Flaccus has come down to us complete, and that the

other treatise under its common designation *Legatio ad Cajum* has been regarded from a false point of view. The embassy of the Jews to Caligula is in that treatise quite a secondary matter. The main thing in it, just as in the treatise on Flaccus, is on the one hand a description of the godless infatuation of Caligula, and on the other hand the description of the divine judgment which overtook him. This second part is wanting. That it did once exist is put beyond doubt by the introduction and conclusion of the treatise.

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~~FEB 10 1996~~



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